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The Influence of Cicero Upon Augustus
in the Development of his Oratorical
Theory for the Training of the
Ecclesiastical Orator

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF LATIN)

BY
JAMES BURNETTE ESKRIDGE

MENASHA, WIS.
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PREFACE

This dissertation is the outcome of a year's work, 1902-03, in the University of Chicago, with Professor George Lincoln Hendrickson, now of Yale University. The work done under his direction was a technical study of the rhetorical writings of Cicero. In studying the influence of Cicero upon Augustine with regard to the three styles, while preparing a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, it was impossible not to be impressed with his influence upon Augustine's oratorical system as a whole. I have, therefore, attempted to show the influence of Cicero in its entirety upon Augustine's theory of oratorical training for the preacher.

Augustine, in an earlier work, entitled *Contra Cresconium*, touched somewhat upon matters of a rhetorical character, though the best of his technical treatment of the subject is to be found in a small work entitled *De Doctrina Christiana*, in four books, three of which are devoted to the method of interpreting Scripture through the ascertaining of its proper meaning, and the fourth to the manner of making this meaning known in the most effective way. The fourth book, then, is rhetorical and literary and draws on the theory of Cicero as treated in the *De Oratore*, the *Brutus* and the *Orator*.

Finally, whatever excellence of method of treatment this dissertation may possess is due, in no small measure, to the instructors, in general, with whom I came in contact, and in particular, to Professor Hendrickson. Any errors of interpretation, treatment or detail, are chargeable to myself alone.

J. B. ESKRIDGE.

NOTE. In *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, von Eduard Norden, Zweiter Band, Zweiter Abdruck, 1909, page 617, the statement is made that the first three books of *De Doctrina Christiana* pertain to inventio, and the third to elocutio; and that as regards Augustine, his grosse Lehrmeister war Cicero, der auctor Romani eloquii. He further calls attention to the fact that the three styles are taken from Cicero. This is what Augustine himself tells us in so many words. On page 505 Norden cites a passage of Scripture quoted by Augustine as showing membra and caesa, and in other places free reference is made to Augustine.

I have not seen Colincamp's *La Methode Oratoire dans St. Augustine*, 1848, nor Lezat's *De Oratore Christiano apud St. Augustinum*, 1871.

In my Master's dissertation, 1903, as above mentioned, the question of the three styles of Augustine and his dependence upon Cicero was treated. In *A. J. P.* Vol. XXVI, p. 276 ff., Professor Hendrickson, in a historical treatment of the "Origin and Meaning of Characters of Style", in so far as his purposes are concerned, bears out my conclusions.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	iii
I. Introduction	I
II. Augustine's Ideal Ecclesiastical Orator	4
III. The Offices of the Ecclesiastical Orator	16
IV. Derivation of the Three Styles of Oratory	18
V. The Plain Style, or Submissa Dictio	19
VI. The Middle Style, or Temperata Dictio	21
VII. The Grand Style, or Grandis Dictio	22
VIII. Combination of the Three Styles	24
IX. The Interpretation of the Divisions of Style	27
X. The Norm of Augustine; Examples from Paul and Amos	30
XI. Illustration of the Plain Style	37
XII. Illustration of the Middle Style	46
XIII. Illustration of the Grand Style	48
XIV. Fundamental Differences Between Augustine and Cicero	50
XV. Summary	55

I. INTRODUCTION

The controversy between the philosophers and rhetoricians regarding the relative merits of philosophy and rhetoric, respectively, had gone on for centuries before St. Augustine's day.¹ Feeling, therefore, that neither philosophy nor rhetoric was sufficient within itself for the education of the ecclesiastical orator, but that both were alike essential, in *D. D. C.* IV, 7 and 8, he encourages the employment of both to the end that the orator may equip himself with the best training possible for his profession.² He would have

¹ Notes from Prof. Hendrickson's Research Course in Cicero, University of Chicago, 1903.

In *A. Gellius* XV, 11.2, Crassus banishes the teachers of rhetoric.

Sextus Empiricus contains an account of the attack of the philosophers on rhetoric. Πρὸς μαθηματικούς B (Bekker p. 678. 20 f.) Πρὸς Πήτορας, section 20.

² *D. D. C.* IV, 7, 8: Sed cum alii faciant obtuse, deformiter, frigide; alii acute, oruate, vehementer; illum ad hoc opus unde agimus, iam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare vel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest eloquenter, ut prosit audientibus, etiamsi minus quam prodesse, si et eloquenter posset dicere. Qui vero affluit insipienti eloquentia, tanto magis cavendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis quae audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, et cum quoniam diserte dicere audit, etiam vere dicere existimat. Haec autem sententia nec illos fugit, qui artem rhetoricam docendam putarunt: fassi sunt enim sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse civitatibus; eloquentiam vero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse nunquam. Si ergo hoc illi qui praecepta eloquentiae tradiderunt, in eisdem libris in quibus id egerunt, veritate instigante coacti sunt confiteri, veram, hoc est, supernam quae a Patre luminum descendit, sapientiam nescientes; quanto magis nos non aliud sentire debemus, qui hujus sapientiae filii et ministri sumus? Sapienter autem dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis sanctis magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit. Non dico in eis multum legendis memoriaeque mandandis, sed bene intelligendis, et diligenter earum sensibus indagandis. Sunt enim qui eas legunt, et negligunt; legunt ut teneant, negligunt ne intelligant. Quibus longe sine dubio praeferendi sunt qui verba earum minus tenent, et cor earum sui cordis oculis vident. Sed utrisque ille melior, qui et cum volet eas dicit, et sicut oportet intelligit.

Huic ergo qui sapienter debet dicere, etiam quod non potest eloquenter, verba Scripturarum tenere maxime necessarium est. Quanto enim se pauperiorem cernit in suis, tanto eum oportet in istis esse ditiores; ut quod dixerit suis verbis, probet ex illis; et qui propriis verbis minor erat, magnorum testimonio quodammodo crescat. Probando enim delectat qui minus

him neither a wise teacher, lacking in the proper training along rhetorical lines, nor a loquacious pedant devoid of that soberness of thought and depth of wisdom which are to be obtained only through philosophy. If one of the two must be neglected, it is preferable for the ecclesiastical orator to possess wisdom rather than eloquence. But far better is it that he should possess wisdom and eloquence, both in harmonious combination, since it is in this way only that he can attain more nearly to perfection.

Upon this fundamental conception, that of the employing of philosophy and rhetoric,³ or in the case of the ecclesiastical orator, Scripture, which stands in the same relation to the ecclesiastical orator as philosophy does to the ideal orator of Cicero, Augustine constructs his entire theory of ecclesiastical education. In this he follows Cicero, who recognizing the futility and the absurdity of the respective claims of philosophy and rhetoric when divorced from each other, endeavored to unite the two in the training of his ideal orator. In *De Orat.* III, 35, 142-3, Cicero says: Nunc sive qui volet eum philosophum, qui copiam nobis rerum orationisque tradat, per me appellet oratorem licet; sive hunc oratorem, quem ego dico sapientiam iunctam habere eloquentiae, philosophum appellare malet, non impediam; dummodo hoc constet, neque infantiam eius, qui rem norit, sed eam explicare dicendo non queat, neque inscientiam illius, cui res non suppetat, verba non desint, esse laudandam; quorum

potest delectare dicendo. Porro qui non solum sapienter, verum etiam eloquenter vult dicere, quoniam profecto plus proderit, si utrumque potuerit; ad legendos vel audiendos et exercitatione imitandos eloquentes eum mitto libentius, quam magistris artis rhetoricae vacare praecipio; si tamen ii qui leguntur et audiuntur, non solum eloquenter, sed etiam sapienter dixisse vel dicere veraci praedicatione laudantur. Qui enim eloquenter dicunt, suaviter; qui sapienter, salubriter audiuntur. Propter quod non ait Scriptura, Multitudo eloquentium; sed, "Multitudo sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum." Sicut autem saepe sumenda sunt et amara salubria, ita semper vitanda est pernicioiosa dulcedo. Sed salubri suavitate, vel suavi salubritate quid melius? Quanto enim magis illic appetitur suavitas, tanto facilius salubritas prodest. Sunt ergo ecclesiastici viri qui divina eloquia non solum sapienter, sed eloquenter etiam tractaverunt: quibus legendis magis non sufficit tempus quam deesse ipsi studentibus et vacantibus possunt.

³*D. D. C.* I, 1: Duae sunt res quibus nititur omnis tractatio Scripturarum: modus inveniendi quae intelligenda sunt, et modus proferendi quae intellecta sunt.

si alterum sit optandum, malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultitiam loquacem; si quaerimus quid unum excellat ex omnibus, docto oratori palma danda est; quem si patiuntur eundem esse philosophum, sublata controversia est. Sin eos diiungent, hoc erunt inferiores, quod in oratore perfecto inest illorum omnis scientia, in philosophorum autem cognitione non continuo inest eloquentia; quae quamvis contemnatur ab eis, necesse est tamen aliquem cumulum illorum artibus adferre videatur.

As to the relative values, however, of philosophy and rhetoric, further than that wisdom without eloquence is preferable to eloquence without wisdom, Augustine does not concern himself. Yet he makes a like assumption, in the case of the training of the ecclesiastical orator, as that made by the teachers of rhetoric, that although there can be no need in theological investigations for error to be made to appear superior to truth, yet truth when wielded by a worthy and conscientious defender, can be made to do quick and effective service if adorned by the noble art of rhetoric.

II. AUGUSTINE'S IDEAL ECCLESIASTICAL ORATOR

Augustine, both before and after having discussed the aims of the orator according to Cicero, in *D. D. C. IV*, 27,¹ gives what may with propriety be called his conception of the ideal ecclesiastical orator, if by this it be understood that he is giving the treatment in outline rather than specifically and in detail, and that it is rather as a prelude to his after-treatment than as a technical discussion of what the ecclesiastical orator should be. It is, furthermore, to be borne in mind, that his fundamental conceptions are to be gathered up here and there and put into an articulated form, before it becomes apparent that he is developing his ideals along the lines of classical models.

Nowhere does he state, with specific exactness, that he is drawing his sketch of his ideal orator, but on the other hand, he says, in *D. D. C. IV*, 1 and 2,² that the theory and rules of eloquence are to be learned elsewhere, and are not to be expected from him, and that he is merely going to say a few things about the mode of making known the meaning of the Scripture. (*D. D. C. IV*, 1.1.)³

Yet careful study will reveal the fact that however unsystematically, from the modern point of view, he may be proceeding with

¹ *D. D. C. IV*, 12.27: Dixit ergo quidam eloquens, et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat. Deinde addidit; "Docere necessitatis est, delectare suavitatis, flectere victoriae." (Cicero, *De Oratore*). Horum trium quod primo loco positum est, hoc est docendi necessitas, in rebus est constituta quas dicimus; reliqua duo, in modo quo dicimus. Qui ergo dicit cum docere vult, quamdiu non intelligetur, nondum se existimet dixisse quod vult ei quem vult docere. Quia etsi dixit quod ipse intelligit, nondum illi dixisse putandus est, a quo intellectus non est: si vero intellectus est, quocumque modo dixerit, dixit. Quod si etiam delectare vult eum cui dicit, aut flectere, non quocumque modo dixerit, faciet: sed interest quomodo dicat, ut faciat. Sicut est autem, ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus auditor: ita flectendus, ut moveatur ad agendum.

² *D. D. C. IV*, 1.2: Primo itaque expectationem legentium, qui forte me putant rhetorica daturum esse praecepta quae in scholis saecularibus et didici et docui, ista praelocutione cohibeo, atque ut a me non expectentur, admonéo; non quod nihil habeant utilitatis; sed quod, si quid habent, seorsum discendum est, si cui fortassis bono viro etiam haec vacat discere, non autem a me vel in hoc opere, vel in aliquo alio requirendum.

³ *D. D. C. IV*, 1.1: Quia ergo de inveniendis multa iam diximus, et tria de hac una parte volumina absolvimus, Domino adjuvante, de proferendis pauca dicemus.

his undertaking, he is, after all, giving in outline his ideal of what the ecclesiastical orator should be, and that this ideal is, in so far as the nature of it will admit, taken from Cicero. The ideal orator of Cicero is the lawyer, the statesman; Augustine's is the preacher. The fact of his having protested with vigor, *D. D. C. IV. 2. 3*,⁴ that rhetoric is as available to the preacher as to the sophist or opponent of truth; that there is a proper time to learn the rules of rhetoric, *D. D. C. IV, 3. 4*;⁵ that the preacher must instruct, conciliate and arouse his hearers, *D. D. C. IV, 4. 6*;⁶ that if wisdom or eloquence is to be lacking in the preacher, he should be wise rather than eloquent, *D. D. C. IV, 5. 7*;⁷ that he should endeavor always to be clear and intelligible, *D. D. C. IV, 10. 24*;⁸ that he should speak

⁴ *D. D. C. IV, 2. 3*: Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et vera suadeantur et falsa, quis audeat dicere, adversus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere veritatem, ut videlicet illi qui res falsas persuadere conantur, noverint auditorem vel benevolum, vel intentum, vel docilem prooemio facere; isti autem non noverint? illi falsa breviter, aperte, verissimiliter; et isti vera sic narrent, ut audire taedeat, intelligere non pateat, credere postremo non libeat? illi fallacibus argumentis veritatem oppugnent, asserant falsitatem; isti nec vera defendere, nec falsa valeant refutare? illi animos audientium in errorem moventes impellentesque dicendo terreant, contristent, exhilarent, exhortentur ardenter; isti pro veritate, lenti frigidique dormitent? Quis ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat? Cum ergo sit in medio posita facultas eloquii, quae ad persuadenda seu prava seu recta valet plurimum: cur non bonorum studio comparatur, ut militet veritati, si eam mali ad obtinendas perversas vanasque causas in usus iniquitatis et erroris usurpant?

⁵ *D. D. C. IV, 3. 4*: Sed quaecumque sunt de hac re observationes atque praecepta, quibus cum accedit in verbis plurimis ornamentisque verborum exercitationis linguae solertissima consuetudo, fit illa quae facundia vel eloquentia nominatur; extra istas litteras nostras, seposito ad hoc congruo temporis spatio, apta et convenienti aetate discenda sunt eis qui hoc celeriter possunt.

⁶ *D. D. C. IV, 4. 6*: Debet igitur divinarum Scripturarum tractator et doctor, defensor rectae fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere, et mala dedocere; atque in hoc opere sermonis conciliare adversos, remissos erigere, nescientibus quid agatur, quid exspectare debeant intimare.

⁷ See page 1, note 2.

⁸ *D. D. C. IV, 10. 24*: Quid enim prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis, cum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos ut intelligant loquimur? Qui ergo docet, vitabit omnia verba quae non docent; et si pro eis alia integra, quae intelligantur, potest dicere, id magis eliget: si autem non potest, sive quia non sunt, sive quia in praesentia non occurrunt, utetur etiam verbis minus integris, dum tamen res ipsa doceatur atque discatur integre.

both clearly and eloquently, *D. D. C. IV*, 11. 26;⁹ that the beauty of his speech should be in harmony with his subject matter, and that he should vary his style constantly, *D. D. C. IV*, 22. 51;¹⁰ that his life should be in harmony with his teachings, *D. D. C. IV*, 27. 59;¹¹—all this shows that he had in mind a very high ideal, even though he did not deem it necessary to develop it as thoroughly, or to elaborate upon it as elegantly as Cicero did upon his ideal orator. It is the purpose of this chapter, then, to point out the essential elements, in outline, of Augustine's ideal orator, and to compare them with those of Cicero, to ascertain, if we may, in just what particulars they agree; and also to show that the ideal orator in the mind of the

⁹ *D. D. C. IV*, 11. 26: Prorsus haec est in docendo eloquentia, qua fit dicendo, non ut libeat quod horrebat, aut ut fiat quod pigebat, sed ut appareat quod latebat. Quod tamen si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suos pervenit fructus, qui ea quae discenda sunt, quamvis abjecte inculteque dicantur, scire desiderant. Quod cum adepti fuerint, ipsa delectabiliter veritate pascuntur: bonorumque ingeniorum insignis est in dolores, in verbis verum amare, non verba. Quid enim prodest clavis aurae, si aperire quod volumus non potest? Aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest? quando nihil quaerimus nisi patere quod clausum est. Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum, etiam ipsa sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condienda sunt.

¹⁰ *D. D. C. IV*, 22. 51: Nec quisquam praeter disciplinam esse existimet ita miscere: imo quantum congrue fieri potest, omnibus generibus dictio varianda est. Nam quando prolixa est in uno genere, minus detinet auditorem. Cum vero fit in aliud ab alio transitus, etiamsi longius eat, decentius procedit oratio: quamvis habeant et singula genera varietates suas in sermone eloquentium, quibus non sinuntur in eorum qui audiunt frigesce re vel tepescere sensibus. Verumtamen facilius submissum solum, quam solum grande diutius tolerari potest. Commotio quippe animi quanto magis excitanda est, ut nobis assentiatur auditor tanto minus in ea diu teneri potest, cum fuerit quantum satis est excitata. Et ideo cavendum est, ne dum volumus altius erigere quod erectum est, etiam inde decidat, quo fuerat excitatione perductum. Interpositis vero quae sunt dicenda submissius, bene reditur ad ea quae opus est granditer dici, ut dictionis impetus sicut maris aestus alternet. Ex quo fit ut grande dicendi genus, si diutius est dicendum, non debeat esse solum, sed aliorum generum interpositione varietur; ei tamen genere dictio tota tribuitur, cujus copia praevaluerit.

¹¹ *D. D. C. IV*, 27. 59: Habet autem ut obedienter audiat, quantacumque granditate dictionis majus pondus vita dicentis. Nam qui sapienter et eloquenter dicit, vivit autem nequiter, erudit quidem multos discendi studiosos, quamvis "animae suae sit inutilis." (*Eccles. XXXVII*, 22), sicut scriptum est.

Bishop of Hippo, was in all essential respects, the same as the ideal orator of the great statesman of Rome.

(a) *The Moral Character of the Ecclesiastical Orator*

However great may be the ecclesiastical orator, and however majestic his style may be, if his life and character be in accord with his eloquence and with his teachings, he will have far more influence in inducing compliance on the part of his hearers, than if he be lacking in these essentials. It is possible, however, that the orator's life may not be without serious blemish, and yet his teachings be beneficial to those who hear, seeing that in just the proportion that his life fails to accord with his teachings, in just this proportion must he the more forcefully present the truth. Granting this, it still remains true, that the teacher whose character is upright, and whose name is free from reproach, if he be fitly trained for his duties in all particulars, will wield an influence over his hearers that the great and sublime orator, though of irregular morals, will never accomplish. (*D. D. C. IV, 27. 59.*)¹² To quote Augustine's own language, *D. D. C. IV, 27. 60*: Multis itaque prosunt dicendo quae non faciunt sed longe pluribus prodesse faciendo quae dicunt. Abundant enim qui malae vitae suae defensionem ex ipsis suis praepositis et doctoribus quaerant, respondentes corde suo, aut etiam si ad hoc erumpunt, ore suo, atque dicentes: quod mihi praecipis, cur ipse non facis? Ita fit ut eum non obedienter audiant, qui seipse non audit, et Dei verbum quod eis praedicatur, simul cum ipso praedicatore contemnant. Denique Apostolus scribens ad Timotheum, cum dixisset, "Nemo adolescentiam tuam contemnat"; subiecit unde non contemneretur, atque ait: "Sed forma esto fidelium in sermone, in conversatione, in dilectione, in fide, in castitate." (I Tim. IV, 12.)

(b) *The Moral Character of the Legal Orator*

As regards the moral character of Cicero's ideal orator, in *De Orat. II, 43. 182*, he says: Valet igitur multum ad vincendum probari mores et instituta eorum, qui agent causas, et eorum, pro quibus, et item improbari adversariorum animosque eorum, apud quos agetur, conciliari quam maxime ad benevolentiam quom erga oratorem tum erga illum, pro quo dicet orator. Conciliantur autem animi dignitate hominis, rebus gestis, existimatione vitae; quae facilius ornari possunt, si modo sunt, quam fingi, si nulla sunt.

¹² See page 6, note II.

It is thus fair to conclude, that, with the exception of the idea that the moral character of the ecclesiastical orator may not be without serious defects, and yet that his preaching may be beneficial to his hearers, the conception of Augustine as regards the moral character of his orator is the same as that of Cicero regarding his ideal orator, and that this exception is more apparent than real, inasmuch as it is the message of the ecclesiastical orator and not the orator himself that counts.

(2)

(a) *The Ecclesiastical Orator and His Duty*

The orator of St. Augustine is the *divinarum Scripturarum tractator et doctor, defensor rectae fidei ac debellator erroris*. It is his office to teach the true faith, and to urge men and women to accept it. It is his duty *bona docere et mala dedocere*; atque in hoc opere sermonis conciliare adversos, remissos erigere, nescientibus quid agatur, quid exspectare debeant intimare. Ubi autem benevolos, intentos, dociles aut invenerit, aut ipse fecerit, cetera peragenda sunt, sicut postulat causa. Si docendi sunt qui audiunt, narratione faciendum est, si tamen indigeat, ut res de qua agitur innotescat. Ut autem quae dubia sunt certa fiant, documentis adhibitis ratiocinandum est. Si vero qui audiunt movendi sunt potius quam docendi, ut in eo quo iam sciunt, agendo non torpeant et rebus assensum, quas veras esse fatentur, accommodent, maioribus dicendi viribus opus est. Ibi obsecrationes et increpationes, concitationes et coercitiones, et quaecumque alia volent ad commovendos animos, sunt necessaria. (*D. D. C. IV, 4. 6.*)

It is, then, the duty of the ecclesiastical orator to teach the truth, to refute error, to conciliate the hostile, to arouse the apathetic, to render those who hear attentive, to make plain that which is obscure, to entreat, to reproach, to upbraid, to exhort to duty; in fine, to make use of all the means possible to cause his hearers to act.

(b) *Cicero's Ideal Orator and His Duty*

With reference to Cicero's ideal orator, whom he defines in *Orator*, 2, 7 and 8; and as to his duties which he mentions in general terms in *De Orat.* I, 8, and *Orator*, 2, 8 and 9, (the two latter under the forms of exquisite eulogies on the art of eloquence)—in *Orator*, 2, 7 and 8, he says: Atque ego in summo oratore fingendo talem

informabo, qualis fortasse nemo fuit. Non enim quaero quis fuerit, sed quid sit illud, quo nihil esse possit praestantius, quod in perpetuitate dicendi non saepe atque haud scio an nunquam, in aliqua autem parte eluceat aliquando, idem apud alios densius, apud alios fortasse rarius. Sed ego sic statuo, nihil esse in ullo genere tam pulcrum, quo non pulcrius id sit unde illud ut ex ore aliquo quasi imago exprimatur; quod neque oculis neque auribus neque ullo sensu percipi potest, cogitatione tantum et mente complectimur. Furthermore he is to be engaged in foro causisque civilibus, which defines his sphere of action. He is the lawyer, the statesman. With reference to his functions, in his tribute to the nobility of the art, he says in *De Orat.* I, 8. 31: Quid enim est aut tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine hominum existere unum, qui id, quod omnibus natura sit datum, vel solus vel cum paucis facere possit? aut tam iucundum cognitu atque auditu quam sapientibus sentiis gravibusque verbis ornata oratio et polita? aut tam potens tamque magnificum quam populi motus, iudicum religiones, senatus gravitatem unius oratione converti? Quid tam porro regium, tam liberale, tam munificum quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate? Quid autem tam necessarium quam tenere semper arma, quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare integer vel te ulcisci lacessitus? Age vero, ne semper forum subsellia rostra curiamque meditare, quid esse potest in otio aut iucundius aut magis proprium humanitatis, quam sermo facetus ac nulla in re rudis?

Again in *De Orat.* II, 8. 34, ff.: Qui enim cantus moderata oratione dulcior inveniri potest? quod carmen artificiosa verborum conclusione aptius? qui actor imitanda, quam orator suscipienda veritate iucundior? Quid autem subtilius quam crebrae acutaeque sententiae? quid admirabilius quam res splendore illustrata verborum? quid plenius quam omni genere rerum cumulata oratio? Neque ulla non propria oratoris res est, quae quidem ornate dici graviterque debet. Huius est in dando consilio de maximis rebus cum dignitate explicata sententia; eiusdem et languentis populi incitatio et effrenati moderatio; eadem facultate et fraus hominum ad perniciem et integritas ad salutem vocatur. Quis cohortari ad virtutem ardentius, quis a vitiis acrius revocare, quis vituperare improbos asperius, quis laudare bonos ornatius, quis cupiditatem vehementius frangere accusando potest? quis maerorem levare mitius

consolando? Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur?

From these passages it is clear that Cicero had in mind a standard of an orator to which it is impossible to attain; that he is never to be perceived with eye or ear; that he can only be conceived of ideally by the mind; that his arena is the forum; that he is to deal with civil cases; that he is to use this faculty in swaying the tumults of the people, and in arousing the feelings of judges and the dignity of the senate; that he is to assist the suppliant and the afflicted, offer security from danger, maintain the civil rights of men, protect himself, defy evil men; that he is to rouse the languid, calm the excited, bring the wickedness of mankind to destruction; to exhort, reprove, reclaim, praise, break the force of unlawful passion and alleviate those stricken with grief.

We are, therefore, justified in concluding that what Augustine would have his ecclesiastical orator do, save "preach the Word," is to be found in Cicero's conception of the duties of his ideal orator; that he said in terse and succinct form, though differing in phraseology from that of Cicero, what Cicero said in a more elaborate and rhetorical fashion, and that his ideal, in this particular, is, in all essential respects, the same as the ideal of Cicero.

(3)

(a) *The Training of the Ecclesiastical Orator*

To accomplish that which the foregoing passages impose on the orator, it is necessary that the ecclesiastical orator avail himself of all the arts and devices with which the orator in general is conversant, *and that he study Rhetoric.*

Rhetoric is the common ground between Augustine's orator and the orator of Cicero. Augustine, therefore, says in his treatise, *D. D. C. IV, 2. 3*:¹³ *Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et vera suadeantur et falsa, quis audeat dicere, adversus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere veritatem, ut videlicet illi qui res falsas persuadere conantur, noverint auditorem vel benevolum, vel intentum, vel docilem prooemio facere; isti autem non noverint? illi falsa breviter, aperte, verissimiliter; et isti vera sic narrent, ut audire taedeat, intelligere non pateat, credere postremo non libeat?*

¹³ On this passage cf. Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 533 and 534.

illi fallacibus argumentis veritatem oppugnent, asserant falsitatem; isti nec vera defendere, nec falsa valeant refutare? illi animos audientium in errorem moventes impellentesque dicendo terreant, contristent, exhilarent, exhortentur ardentem; isti pro veritate, lenti frigidique dormitent? Quis ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat? Cum ergo sit in medio posita facultas eloquii, quae ad persuadenda seu prava seu recta valet plurimum: cur non bonorum studio comparatur, ut militet veritati, si eam mali ad obtinendas perversas vanasque causas in usus iniquitatis et erroris usurpant?

It is, then, by the proper employment of rhetoric, in his defense of truth, and opposition to error and wrong, that the ecclesiastical orator is to put his hearers in a friendly, attentive and teachable frame of mind; he must not be tedious, cumbersome or unpleasant to hear, but on the contrary, it is his imperative duty to make his subject as attractive, and truth as forceful as possible. As his opponents make error pleasing and difficult to resist, so must he defend truth with all the attractiveness that the art of rhetoric will allow.

(b) *The Training of the Legal Orator*

Were it necessary in the face of Cicero's own rhetorical training and general writings on oratory and orators to mention the exact passage wherein rhetoric is declared to be the foundation on which oratory rests, reference might be made to *De Inventione*, I, 5.7. After having stated how men of earlier times, who had depended on strength of body, had been rescued from barbarous conditions, and had made for themselves customs, institutions, states and laws through the power of oratory and eloquence, he shows by what means this power is obtained. To quote his own words: Ut medicinae materiam dicamus morbos ac vulnera, quod in his omnis medicina versetur, item, quibus in rebus versatur ars et facultas oratoria, eas res materiam artis rhetoricae nominamus.

Thus we see that Cicero makes rhetoric a great essential in the education of the orator.

(4)

WHEN AND HOW THE ORATOR IS TO TRAIN HIMSELF

To attain to great excellence in sacred oratory, the rules of eloquence should be mastered in youth, and quickly, or else they never will be thoroughly learned. Nam et ipsos Romanae principes elo-

quentiae non piguit dicere quod hanc artem nisi quis cito possit, nunquam omnino possit perdiscere. (*D. D. C. IV, 3. 4.*) As regards which Cicero, *De Orat. III, 36. 146*, had said: Tum Caesar: Unum, inquit, me ex tuo sermone maxime, Crasse, commovit, quod cum negasti, qui non cito quid didicisset unquam omnino posse perdiscere.

But on the other hand, men who have not had the advantage of rhetorical training in youth, who are of a quick intellect and a glowing temperament, become eloquent more readily by reading eloquent speeches and listening to eloquent men, than by attending to the rules of eloquence. Quoniam si actum et fervens adsit ingenium, facilius adhaeret eloquentia legentibus et audientibus eloquentes, quam eloquentiae praecepta sectantibus. Nec desunt ecclesiasticae litterae, etiam praeter canonem in auctoritatis arce salubriter collocatum, quas legendo homo capax, etsi id non agat, sed tantummodo rebus quae ibi dicuntur, intentus sit, etiam eloquio quo dicuntur, dum in his versatur, imbuitur; accendete vel maxime exercitatione sive scribendi, sive dictandi, postremo etiam dicendi, quae secundum pietatis ac fidei regulam sentit. (*D. D. C. IV, 3. 4.*)

That these conceptions are drawn from Cicero is evident from the following: Sit modo is, qui dicet aut scribet, institutus liberaliter educatione doctrinaque puerili et flagret studio et a natura adiuvetur et in universorum generum infinitis disceptationibus exercitatus ornatissimos scriptores oratoresque ad cognoscendum imitandumque delegerit, ne ille haud sane, quemadmodum verba struat et illuminet, a magistris istis requiret. Ita facile in rerum abundantia ad orationis ornamenta sine duce natura ipsa, si modo est exercitata, delabitur. (*De Orat. III, 31. 125.*)

(5)

HE MUST POSSESS WISDOM

It behooves the ecclesiastical orator to speak and argue with wisdom even though it be without eloquence, since he is under the necessity, first of all, of instructing his hearers. Eloquent nonsense is to be avoided, especially when his hearers are pleased with it, and who think that since the speaker is eloquent he must be wise also.

Sed cum alii faciant obtuse, deformiter, frigide; alii acute, ornate, vehementer; illum ad hoc opus unde agimus, iam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare vel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest elo-

quenter ut prosit audientibus, etiamsi minus quam prodesset, si et eloquenter posset dicere. Qui vero affluit insipienti eloquentia, tanto magis cavendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis quae audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, et cum quoniam diserte dicere audit, etiam vere dicere existimat. Haec autem sententia nec illos fugit, qui artem rhetoricam docendam putarunt: fassi sunt enim sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse civitatibus; eloquentiam vero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse nunquam. Si ergo hoc illi qui praecepta eloquentiae tradiderunt, in eisdem libris in quibus id egerunt, veritate instigante coacti sunt confiteri, veram, hoc est, supernam quae a Patre luminum descendit, sapientiam nescientes; quanto magis nos non aliud sentire debemus, qui huius sapientiae filii et ministri sumus? (*D. D. C. IV, 5. 7.*)

That this conception, though a natural one, is derived from Cicero, we conclude on comparing it with the following: Haec autem oratio, si res non subest ab oratore percepta et cognita, aut nulla sit necesse est aut omnium irrisione laudatur. Quid est enim tam furiosum, quam verborum vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia? (*De Orat. I, 12. 50.*) Again in 53: Quis enim nescit maximam vim exsistere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad odium aut ad dolorem incitandis vel ab hisce iisdem permotionibus ad lenitatem misericordiamque revocandis? Quae, nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas, quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur, penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.

(6)

KIND OF WISDOM NECESSARY FOR THE ORATOR

Now to speak with wisdom, though it be without eloquence, the ecclesiastic orator should retain the exact words of Scripture in his memory, as well as a deep knowledge of their meaning, for in this way it is possible to add a richness to his speech, which, though otherwise poor, will give it a pleasant effect in the minds of his hearers. Augustine in treating this phase of the subject, in *D. D. C. IV, 5. 8*, says: Huic ergo qui sapienter debet dicere, etiam quod non potest eloquenter, verba Scripturarum tenere maxime necessarium est. Quanto enim se pauperiorem cernit in suis, tanto eum oportet in istis esse ditiozem; ut quod dixerit suis verbis, probet

ex illis, et qui propriis verbis minor erat, magnorum testimonio quodammodo crescat.

Corresponding to Scripture¹⁴ for the ecclesiastical orator is philosophy, or res, for the ideal orator of Cicero. As regards his intellectual equipment, Cicero says, that, to the end that his ideal orator may be fully equipped with the proper knowledge on general matters as well as with a technical knowledge of the specific subject which he at any time may be treating, he must provide himself with certain "topics" which come under the domain of philosophy.

Referring to the highest powers of the orator as consisting in exciting the minds of men to anger, hatred or grief; or in recalling them from these more violent emotions to gentleness and pity, a thing which he will never accomplish by eloquence unless he has obtained a thorough insight into the nature of humanity, and understands how the minds of men are moved or restrained, Cicero says, *De Orat.* I, 12. 54; *Atque totus hic locus philosophorum proprius videtur neque orator ne auctore unquam repugnabit.*

Of "topics," or loci, he says again in *De Orat.* I, 13. 56: *Et enim quom illi in dicendo inciderint loci, quod persaepe evenit, ut de dis immortalibus, de pietate, de concordia, de amicitia, de communi civium, de hominum, de gentium iure, de aequitate, de temperantia, de magnitudine animi, de omni virtutis genere sit dicendum, clamabunt, credo, omnia gymnasia atque omnes philosophorum scholae sua esse haec omnia propria, nihil omnino ad oratorem pertinere.*

It is, therefore, clear that Cicero's ideal orator must be equipped with philosophy as well as with rhetoric, which thus affords the parallel to the Scriptures, a thorough knowledge of which Augustine's ecclesiastical orator must possess.

(7)

GENERAL RULES FOR THE ORATOR

(a) *He Should Read Eloquent Speeches and Listen to Eloquent Men*

Let the ecclesiastical orator, who would speak with both wisdom and eloquence, read eloquent speeches, and listen to the speeches of eloquent men, rather than spend time with the teachers of

¹⁴ See note 3, page 2.

rhetoric. Porro qui non solum sapienter, verum etiam eloquenter vult dicere, quoniam profecto plus proderit, si utrumque potuerit; ad legendos vel audiendos et exercitatione imitandos eloquentes eum mitto libentius, quam magistris artis rhetoricae vacare praecepto. (*D. D. C. IV, 5. 8.*)

Regarding the same principle, Cicero says, *De Orat. II, 20. 85*: Quare ego tibi oratorem sic iam instituam, si potero, ut quid efficere possit ante perspiciam. Sit enim mihi tinctus litteris; audierit aliquid, legerit, ista ipsa praecepta acceperit: temptabo quid deceat, quid voce, quid viribus, quid spiritu, quid lingua efficere possit.

(b) *He Should Practice Himself in Writing*

In addition to listening to eloquent men, and reading eloquent speeches, let the ecclesiastical orator develop himself by writing and dictating: accendete vel maxime exercitatione sive scribendi, sive dictandi, postremo etiam dicendi, quae secundum pietatis ac fidei regulam sentit. (*D. D. C. IV, 3. 4.*)

With reference to which, Cicero, *De Orat. II, 23. 96*, says: Hanc igitur similitudinem qui imitatione adsequi volet, quom exercitationibus crebris atque magnis tum scribendo maxime persequatur.

(c) *He Should Choose a Model to Imitate*

As infants learn to speak by imitating the speech of those they hear, so by imitating a great speaker will the ecclesiastical orator become eloquent. Quapropter, cum ex infantibus loquentes non fiant, nisi locutiones discendo loquentium; cur eloquentes fieri non possint, nulla eloquendi arte tradita, sed elocutiones eloquentium legendo et audiendo, et quantum assequi conceditur, imitando? (*D. D. C. IV, 3. 5.*)

On the principle of imitation, Cicero, *De Orat. II, 22. 90*, says: Ergo hoc sit primum in praeceptis meis, ut demonstremus quem imitetur atque ita ut, quae maxime excellent in eo, quem imitabitur, ea diligentissime persequatur. Tum accedat exercitatio, qua illum quem delegerit imitando effingat atque exprimat.

From the above citations it appears that as Cicero would have his ideal orator listen to eloquent speakers, and read the productions of eloquent men; that as he would have him practice himself in writing and dictation; and, finally, that as he would have him choose one or more eminent orators to imitate, so would Augustine have his ecclesiastical orator train himself.

III. THE OFFICES OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORATOR

After having treated of the ecclesiastical orator in the manner as shown in the preceding chapter, Augustine proceeds to discuss the specific duties of the orator. His moral character, his education in general, his study of rhetoric in early youth, his store of wisdom, his mastery of the general laws of eloquence, must all be directed to a specific purpose if he would not be foredoomed to a speedy and ignominious failure. In accordance with Cicero, he assigns to the ecclesiastical orator three main offices, which, at the same time, are both natural and psychological. They are natural because they make the function of the orator commensurate with the mental possibilities of man, and they are psychological because each specific duty of the orator is adapted to a special faculty of the human mind. These three offices are, (1) to instruct; (2) to please; (3) to move; and their natural and legitimate spheres of action are in the regions, (1) of the intellect; (2) of the sensibilities; (3) of the will, respectively. To instruct is of the intellect, to arouse or soothe the emotions, to move the will is the orator's part of the program in dealing with humanity, as seen by both Cicero and Augustine. To reach the standard of excellence in the art of speaking, wherein the skill of the orator appeals with equal force to the soul of man, through any or all of these avenues, is to be a great orator; while to stir men to frenzy, or to arouse them to action even against their wills, is the problem of a Demosthenes or a Savonarola, a Cicero or a Spurgeon.

As regards these offices of the ecclesiastical orator, Augustine, *D. D. C.* IV, 12. 27, says: *Dixit ergo quidam eloquens, et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat.*

This three-fold function of the orator, he specifically states, was so defined by Cicero, who, in the *Orator*, 21. 69, says: *Erit igitur eloquens—hunc enim auctore Antonio quaerimus—is, qui in foro causisque civilibus ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. Probare necessitatis est, delectare suavitatis, flectere victoriae: nam id unum ex omnibus ad obtinendas causas potest plurimum. Sed quot officia oratoris, tot sunt genera dicendi: subtile in probando, modicum in delectando, vehemens in flectendo; in quo uno vis omnis oratoris est.* It will be observed here that Augustine does not quote Cicero cor-

rectly, in that he substitutes *doceat* for *probet*, though he does no violence to the thought of Cicero as is seen in the following examples:

1. *De Orat.* II, 27. 115: Ita omnis ratio dicendi tribus ad persuadendum rebus est nixa: ut probemus vera esse, quae defendimus; ut conciliemus eos nobis, qui audiunt; ut animos eorum, ad quemquomque causa postulabit motum, vocemus.

2. *De Orat.* II, 28. 121: Quibus ex locis ad eas tres res, quae ad fidem faciendam solae valent, ducatur oratio, ut et concilientur animi et doceantur et moveantur.

3. *De Orat.* II, 77. 310: Tribus rebus homines ad nostram sententiam perducimus, aut docendo aut conciliando aut permovendo.

4. *Brutus*, 49. 185: Tria sunt enim, ut quidem ego sentio quae sint efficienda dicendo: ut doceatur is, apud quem dicetur, ut delectetur, ut moveatur vehementius.

5. *De Opt. Gen.* I. 3: Optumus est enim orator, qui dicendo animos audientium et docet et delectat et permovet. Docere debitum est, delectare honorarium, permovere necessarium.

6. *De Opt. Gen.* 5. 16: Necesse est tamen oratori, quem quaerimus, controversias explicare forenses dicendi genere apto ad docendum, ad delectandum, ad permovendum.

From these passages, therefore, it is clear that Augustine's conception of the ecclesiastical orator is the same as that of Cicero regarding his ideal orator, that is (1) to teach, (2) to delight, (3) to persuade.

IV. DERIVATION OF THE THREE STYLES OF ORATORY

From the three offices of the orator, that of teaching, delighting and persuading, which, as has been pointed out, operate on the intellect, the sensibilities and the will, respectively, there are naturally developed three styles¹ of oratory, psychologically adapted to these offices, which may be called the Plain, the Middle, and the Grand Styles, whose nomenclature in the original Augustine derives from Cicero. In *D. D. C.* IV, 17. 34, there is the following language: Qui ergo nititur dicendo persuadere quod bonum est, nihil horum trium spernens, ut scilicet doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat; oret atque agat, ut quemadmodum supra diximus, intelligenter, libenter, obedienterque audiatur. Quod cum apte et convenienter facit, non immerito eloquens dici potest, etsi non eum sequatur auditoris assensus. Ad haec enim tria, id est ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat, etiam tria illa videtur pertinere voluisse idem ipse Romani auctor eloquii, cum itidem dixit, "Is igitur erit eloquens, qui poterit parva subnisisse, modica temperate, magna granditer dicere" (*Orat.* 29. 101.): tanquam si adderet illa etiam tria, et sic explicaret unam eandemque sententiam dicens, is erit igitur eloquens, qui ut doceat, poterit parva subnisisse; ut delectet, modica temperate; ut flectat, magna granditer dicere.

Then, it is seen that from the three adverbs used by Cicero, that is, subnisisse, temperate, and granditer, Augustine derives the names of his three styles, (1) Submissa dictio; (2) Temperata dictio; (3) Grandis dictio.

¹ See Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 617, who states that Augustine followed Cicero in the matter of the three styles.

V. THE PLAIN STYLE, OR SUBMISSA DICTIO

Following the accepted lines of argument, Augustine shows that the first and fundamental principle of the *Submissa Dictio* is to instruct the hearer, to explain that which is obscure, and to satisfy the demands of his intellect by an exposition of the truth. To this end the ecclesiastical orator should ever be mindful of the obligations he has assumed, and should guard against supposing that teaching consists in making his hearers like that which they had formerly disliked, or in making them do what they had previously refused to do. Teaching depends upon the subject matter, and the orator should be clear and intelligible at all points if he would be understood.

Therefore, teaching must satisfy the demands of the most critical intellects, and display the truth in whatever aspect it may be necessary to instruct the hearer. Yet it is not inadmissible for the didactic style of eloquence to receive a most exquisite literary polish. On the contrary, it is as capable of a literary finish as any other department of oratory, and should never degenerate into a rude and unfinished form, that its influence may extend beyond the small circle of eager students who accept truth for its own sake, regardless of its literary form or setting. In *D. D. C. IV*, 11. 26, Augustine says: *Prorsus haec est in docendo eloquentia, qua fit dicendo, non ut libeat quod horrebat, aut ut fiat quod pigebat, sed ut appareat quod latebat.*

As regards the offices of the orator, Augustine, on teaching, in *D. D. C. IV*, 12. 27, says: *Horum trium quod primo loco positum est, hoc est docendi necessitas, in rebus est constituta quas dicimus; reliqua duo, in modo quo dicimus. Qui ergo dicit cum docere vult, quamdiu non intelligitur, nondum se existimet dixisse quod vult, ei quem vult docere. Quia etsi dixit quod ipse intelligit, nondum illi dixisse putandus est, a quo intellectus non est; si vero intellectus est, quocumque modo dixerit, dixit.*

It is, therefore, evident that, before the ecclesiastical orator should endeavor to move his hearers, they should be taught what is the proper course to pursue, and that accordingly *docere necessitatis est*. For this reason it is not, primarily, the intention of the Plain Style to please, with the ornamentations of language, but to

present truth which may indeed be pleasing because it is truth. In like manner, falsehood often becomes a source of pleasure in the process of teaching, not because it is false, but because by true teaching it is shown to be false.¹ (*D. D. C. IV*, 12. 28.) And furthermore, by the Plain Style is meant the simplicity of the language in which the thought is clothed, and the term does not apply to the thought which may be exceedingly difficult, as for example, Paul's exposition of the law (*D. D. C. IV*, 20. 39), but to the phraseology, which must be purely didactic, and as far as possible, devoid of rhetorical ornament.

As regards simplicity of treatment being the essential characteristic of the Plain Style the following citations are noted:

1. *De Orat.* II, 43. 183: Non enim semper fortis oratio quaeritur, sed saepe placida, summissa, lenis, quae maxime commendat reos. Reos autem appello non eos modo, qui arguuntur, sed omnes, quorum de re disceptatur.

2. *Orator*, 5. 20: Et contra tenues, acuti, omnia docentes et dilucidiora, non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati.

3. *Orator*, 8.26: Itaque hic, quem praestitisse diximus ceteris, in illa pro Ctesiphonte oratione longe optima summissius a primo. (est).

¹ *D. D. C. IV*, 12. 28: Sed neque delectare necessitatis est: quandoquidem cum dicendo vera monstrantur, quod ad officium docendi pertinet, non eloquio agitur, neque hoc attenditur, ut vel ipsa vel ipsum delectet eloquium, sed per se ipsa, quoniam vera sunt, manifestata delectant. Unde plerumque delectant etiam falsa patefacta atque convicta. Neque enim delectant, quia falsa sunt; sed quia falsa esse verum est, delectat et dictio qua hoc verum esse monstratum est.

VI. THE MIDDLE STYLE, OR TEMPERATA DICTIO

The Temperate Style is the style best adapted to conciliate and delight, and abounds more in the figures of speech and of thought than the Plain Style, and is yet not so vehement and powerful in its nature as the Grand Style. Its object is to stir the aesthetic emotions by a felicitous arrangement of words, figures of speech and of thought, thus putting the hearer in a kindly feeling towards the speaker, so that he may be more easily moved, if it be the object of the speaker to arouse to action. Cicero defines it in the *Orator*, section 96, in the following manner: Est enim quoddam etiam insigne et florens orationis pictum et expolitum genus, in quo omnes verborum, omnes sententiarum illigantur lepores.

Augustine, *D. D. C. IV*, 12. 27, as regards this style says: Si vero (orator) intellectus est, quocumque modo dixerit, dixit. Quod si etiam delectare vult eum cui dicit, aut flectere, non quocumque modo dixerit, faciet: sed interest quomodo dicat, ut faciat. Sicut est autem, ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus auditor; ita flectendus, ut moveatur ad agendum. The hearer, then, must be pleased before his attention can be secured, and for this purpose there is need of both sweetness and elegance of speech. An examination of the following passages from Cicero will reveal the fact that Augustine drew, for this conception also, upon Cicero.

1. *Orator*, 6. 21: Est autem quidam interiectus inter hos medius et quasi temperatus nec acumine posteriorum nec fulmine utens superiorum, vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens, utriusque particeps, vel utriusque, si verum quaerimus, potius expers. Isque uno tenore, ut aiunt, fluit in dicendo nihil adferens praeter facilitatem et aequabilitatem, aut addit aliquos ut in corona toros omnemque orationem ornamentis modicis verborum sententiarumque distinguit.

2. *Orator*, 26. 91: Hoc in genere nervorum vel minimum, suavitatis autem est vel plurimum. Est enim plenius quam hoc enucleatum, quam autem illud ornatum copiosumque summissius.

3. *Orator*, 27. 95: In idem genus orationis—verborum cadunt lumina omnia, multa etiam sententiarum; latae eruditaeque disputationes ab eodem explicabuntur et loci communes sine contentione dicentur.

VII. THE GRAND STYLE, OR GRANDIS DICTIO

The object of the Grand Style is to move men, either to do, or to refrain from doing something. The teachings of the ecclesiastical orator are in vain and the pleasures of his eloquence of no permanent value if the hearer be not led to carry out in practice the things which he has been taught, and for which both the teaching and the art of pleasing were brought into play. The eloquent divine must not only teach that he be understood and speak to give delight, but he must also move those who hear. If truth of itself cannot do this, if it fail when reinforced by the arts that delight the aesthetic nature, then nothing remains but to subdue the obdurate heart with the conquering power of eloquence. All the ornaments of speech and thought, provided they do not weaken the force of eloquence, can be utilized. It is assumed that the hearer is instructed, that he has been conciliated to the speaker, and therefore the Grandis Dictio leaps beyond the barriers imposed by didactics, refuses to be limited by the confines of merely intellectual and aesthetic delight, and is content with nothing short of the entire region of the human soul, where all its faculties can be touched,—love, hate, joy, sorrow, hope, fear, in short, where the soul in all its fulness can be assaulted, and where the will must be taken captive.

In *D. D. C.* IV, 13. 29, Augustine thus expresses himself: *Propter eos autem quibus fastidientibus non placet veritas, si alio quacumque modo, nisi eo modo dicatur, ut placeat et sermo dicentis, datus est in eloquentia non parvus etiam delectationi locus. Quae tamen addita non sufficit duris, quos nec intellexisse, nec docentis elocutione delectatos esse profuerit. Quid enim haec duo conferunt homini, qui et confitetur verum, et collaudat eloquium, nec inclinatur assensum, propter quem solum, cum aliquid suadetur, rebus quae dicuntur invigilat dicentis intentio? Si enim talia docentur quae credere vel nosse sufficiat, nihil est aliud eis consentire, nisi confiteri vera esse. Cum vero id docetur quod agendum est et ideo docetur ut agatur, frustra persuadetur verum esse quod dicitur, frustra placet modus ipse quo dicitur, si non ita discitur ut agatur. Oportet igitur eloquentem ecclesiasticum, quando suadet aliquid quod agendum est, non solum docere ut instruat, et delectare*

ut teneat, verum etiam flectere ut vincat. Ipse quippe iam remanet ad consensionem flectendus eloquentiae granditate, in quo id non egit usque ad ejus confessionem demonstrata veritas, adjuncta etiam suavitate dictionis.

With this conception Cicero is in perfect harmony. In *De Orat.* II, 82. 337, he says: Et quamquam una fere vis est eloquentiae, tamen quia summa dignitas est populi, gravissima causa rei publicae, maximi motus multitudinis, genus quoque dicendi grandius quoddam et illustrius esse adhibendum videtur; maximaque pars orationis admovenda est ad animorum motus nonnumquam aut cohortatione aut commemoratione aliqua aut in spem aut in metum aut ad cupiditatem aut ad gloriam concitandos, saepe etiam a temeritate, iracundia, spe, iniuria, invidia, crudelitate revocandos.

Again in *Orator*, 28. 97: Tertius est ille amplus copiosus, gravis ornatus, in quo profecto vis maxima est. Hic est enim, cuius ornatum dicendi et copiam admiratae gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passae sunt, sed hanc eloquentiam, quae cursu magno sonituque ferretur, quam suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se adsequi posse diffiderent. Huius eloquentiae est tractare animos, huius omni modo permovere. Haec modo perfringit, modo irrepit in sensus; inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas.

VIII. COMBINATION OF THE THREE STYLES

The ecclesiastical orator ought not always to teach in the Plain Style, or give praise in the Temperate Style, or speak of great matters, continually, in the Grand Style. When the orator is treating his theme he must be guided by his judgment, and it often occurs that an important matter may be treated in all these styles at different times. There is no subject greater than God, and the orator can tax his abilities to the utmost in speaking either of Him or of His works; yet when something is to be learned about Him or the Holy Trinity, it is highly improper to use any style save the method of calm discussion, so that a subject which in itself is difficult of comprehension may be the more easily understood. In *D. D. C. IV*, 19. 38, Augustine says: *Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictor esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere, sed submisce, cum aliquid docetur; temperate, cum aliquid vituperatur sive laudatur: cum vero aliquid agendum est, et ad eos loquimur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen volunt, tunc ea quae magna sunt, dicenda sunt granditer, et ad flectendos animos congruenter. Et aliquando de una eademque re magna, et submisce dicitur, si docetur; et temperate, si praedicatur; et granditer, si aversus inde animus ut convertatur impellitur, quid enim Deo ipso majus est? Nunquid ideo non discitur? Aut qui docet unitatem Trinitatis, debet nisi submissa disputatione agere, ut res ad dignoscendum difficilis, quantum datur, possit intelligi? Numquid hic ornamenta, et non documenta quaeruntur? numquid ut aliquid agat est flectendus auditor, et non potius ut discat instruendus? Porro cum laudatur Deus sive de seipso, sive de operibus suis, quanta facies pulchrae ac splendidae dictionis oboritur ei qui potest quantum potest laudare, quem nemo convenienter laudat, nemo quomodo-cumque non laudat! At si non colatur, aut cum illo vel etiam prae illo colantur idola, sive daemonia sive quaecumque creatura; quantum hoc malum sit, atque ut ab hoc malo avertantur homines, debet utique granditer dici.*

We are, therefore, not to suppose that it is improper to combine these various styles, but on the contrary, every variety should be introduced so far as may be consistent with good taste. When the orator keeps monotonously to any one style, he fails to hold the

hearer's attention, but passing from one style to the other, the discourse proceeds more gracefully and can thus be extended to a much greater length. If any one style must be used above the rest, let it be the Plain Style, for the mental emotion necessary to accompany the Grand Style cannot be maintained very long. The orator, therefore, must be on his guard, lest, when he shall have carried his hearers to a high pitch of emotion, he lose the effect he has already gained. On this point, Augustine, *D. D. C. IV*, 22. 51, thus says: *Nec quisquam praeter disciplinam esse existimet ita miscere: imo quantum congrue fieri potest, omnibus generibus dictio varianda est. Nam quando prolixa est in uno genere, minus detinet auditorem. Cum vero fit in aliud ab alio transitus, etiamsi longius eat, decentius procedit oratio: quamvis habeant et singula genera varietates suas in sermone eloquentium, quibus non sinuntur in eorum qui audiunt, frigescere vel tepescere sensibus. Verum tamen facilius submissum solum, quam solum grande diutius tolerari potest. Commotio quippe animi quanto magis excitanda est, ut nobis assentiatur auditor, tanto minus in ea diu teneri potest, cum fuerit quantum satis est excitata. Et ideo cavendum est, ne dum volumus altius erigere quod erectum est, etiam inde decidat, quo fuerat excitatione perductum. Interpositis vero quae sunt dicenda submissius, bene reditur ad ea quae opus est granditer dici, ut dictionis impetus sicut maris aestus alternet. Ex quo fit ut grande dicendi genus, si diutius est dicendum, non debeat esse solum, sed aliorum generum interpositione varietur; ei tamen generi dictio tota tribuitur, cuius copia praevaluerit.*

To determine what style should be alternated with what other, and the place where any particular style should be employed, is a matter of vital importance. For instance, the introduction to the majestic style should be temperate. Yet the orator can use his discretion, and, it may be, employ the subdued style, in order that the majestic may be the grander by comparison, and shine with more brilliancy, as it were, from a dark background. Whenever difficult questions arise, there must be an accuracy of distinction, and this must always be in the subdued style. This style must, therefore, be alternated with the other two styles whenever questions of this kind arise. There should be a judicious blending of the various styles as occasion may demand, in order to secure the best results.

Interest enim quod genus cui generi interponatur, vel adhibeatur, certis et necessariis locis. Nam et in grandi genere semper aut paene semper temperata decet esse principia. Et in potestate est eloquentis ut dicantur non ulla submissee, etiam quae possent granditer dici; ut ea quae dicuntur granditer, ex illorum fiant comparatione grandiora, et eorum tanquam umbris luminosiora reddantur. In quocumque autem genere aliqua quaestionum vincula solvenda sunt, acumine opus est, quod sibi submissum genus proprie vindicat. Ac per hoc eo genere utendum est et in aliis duobus generibus, quando eis ista incidunt; sicut laudandum aliquid vel vituperandum, ubi nec damnatio cujusquam nec liberatio, nec ad actionem quamlibet assensio requiritur, in quocumque alio genere occurrerit, genus adhibendum et interponendum est temperatum. In grandi ergo genere inveniunt locos suos duo cetera, et in submisso similiter. Temperatum autem genus non quidem semper, sed tamen aliquando submisso indiget, si, ut dixi, quaestio cuius nodus est solvendus, incurrat; vel quando nonnulla quae ornari possent, ideo non ornantur, sed submisso sermone dicuntur, ut quibusdam quasi toris ornamentorum praebeant eminentiorem locum. Grande autem genus temperata dictio non requirit; ad delectandos quippe animos, non ad movendos ipsa suscipitur. (*D. D. C. IV, 23. 52.*)

That the above is the principle employed by Cicero we find on examining his own testimony regarding himself, as found in *Orator*, 29. 102 and 103: Tota mihi causa pro Caecina de verbis interdicti fuit: res involutas definiendo explicavimus, ius civile laudavimus, verba ambigua distinximus. Fuit ornandus in Manilia lege Pompeius: temperata oratione ornandi copiam persecuti sumus. Ius omne retinendae maiestatis Rabirii causa continebatur: ergo in ea omni genere amplificationis exarsimus. At haec interdum temperanda et varianda sunt. Quod igitur in accusationis septem libris non reperitur genus? quod in Habiti (as for instance, Plain Style, 11½ to 59½; Middle Style, 153+ to 155+; Grand style, 195 to end), quod in Cornelii? quod in plurimis nostris defensionibus: quae exempla seligissem, nisi vel nota esse arbitrarer vel ipsi posset legere qui quaererent. Nulla est enim ullo in genere laus (oratoris), cuius in nostris orationibus non sit aliqua si non perfectio, at conatus tamen atque adumbratio.

IX. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE DIVISIONS OF STYLE

In an earlier work, entitled *Contra Cresconium Donatistam*, Augustine draws a very sharp line of demarcation between dialectic and eloquence, and shows that dialectic is the instrument with which the ecclesiastical orator must debate and contend, and that eloquence must be employed whenever the occasion may demand. In *Contra Cresconium*, I, 2, he defines eloquence as *vero facultas dicendi est, congruenter explicans quae sentimus: qua tunc utendum est, cum recta sentimus*.

Again in the same treatise, I, 16, he says: *quaedam copiose ornateque explicare, hoc est eloquenter; quaedam vero subtiliter arguteque disserere, hoc est dialectice*.

Again: *Eloquens ille appellandus est, qui non solum copiose et ornate sed etiam veraciter dicit. And: dialecticus ille appellandus est, qui non solum subtiliter, sed veraciter etiam disserit*. He further adds, *Contra Cresconium*, I, 20: *Si autem presse atque constrictae, magis eum disputatorem quam dictorem appellare consueverunt, qualiter agit idem apostolus de circumcisione et praeputio patris Abraham, vel distinctione legis et gratiae*.

Here the fields are dialectic and eloquence, dialectic being the art of discussing subtly and accurately without ornamentation of speech, and eloquence the art of speaking copiously and eloquently, and at the same time truthfully; and the division is essentially the same as that employed in the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana*. Dialectic, in *Contra Cresconium*, is the *res* of the later work (*D. D. C. IV, 12. 27*),¹ and eloquence the *modus quo* (*ibid.*).

This is, then, a two-fold division, in which the one part is to discuss simply, and the other is to employ whatever devices of rhetoric and oratory may be necessary. In the last mentioned reference, Augustine says: *Horum trium quod primo loco positum est, hoc est docendi necessitas, in rebus est constituta quas dicimus; reliqua duo, in modo quo dicimus*. This division is also a two-fold one, into the *res* and the *modus quo*, and corresponds exactly with the above-mentioned division in the *Contra Cresconium*.

¹ See note I, page 4.

By reference to *De Oratore*, II, 77.310, it will be seen that Augustine derives this two-fold division of his oratorical system from Cicero. He says: *Tribus rebus homines ad nostram sententiam perducimus, aut docendo aut conciliando aut permovendo, una ex tribus his rebus res prae nobis est ferenda, ut nihil aliud nisi docere velle videamur; reliquae duae, sicuti sanguis in corporibus, sic illae in perpetuis orationibus fusae esse debebunt.*

Again in the *Brutus*, 23. 89: *Duae summae sint in oratore laudes, una subtiliter disputandi ad docendum, altera graviter agendi ad animos audientium permovendos.*

This dual division, in the oratorical system of Augustine is, therefore, clearly taken from Cicero, and due consideration should be attached to this fact, since it is the vital nexus between these two systems of oratory, the one legal, the other Christian. It is precisely at this point that Augustine draws on Cicero for the foundation principles of his oratorical theory, which, when fully appreciated by the student of both masters, makes the comparison of their respective systems a relatively easy matter. In the broadest of essentials, they are identical, and it follows as a natural sequence, that, in so far as the nature of the oratorical training of the *Ecclesiasticus* will permit, it must be the same as that of the *Juris Consultus*.

The final step in the basic partitioning is a natural one and easily taken. Since there are two universal principles in oratory, the one dealing with the subject matter, the other with the manner of delivery, the latter divides itself, naturally, into two parts, the one of pleasing, the other of moving men. This final and complete division into three parts is seen in the *Brutus*, 49. 185: *Tria sunt enim, ut quidem ego sentio, quae sint efficienda dicendo; ut doceatur is, apud quem dicetur, ut delectetur, ut moveatur.* Now what Augustine in reality does, is to accept the three-fold division of Cicero, (*D. D. C. IV, 12. 27*),² and then point out that the first deals with *res*, subject matter, or Scripture, and the other two with the *modus quo* of delivery, or rhetoric. From the standpoint of either conception, either of the dual or of the tripartite, the function of the one part is to teach, that of the other, or other two, to deal purely with the art of expression. This, then, on the reverse curve of the same circle, returns to the functions of the orator, which are to teach, to delight,

² See note 1, page 4.

to persuade; and to accomplish which, as has been seen, the orator must employ the Plain, the Middle, and the Grand Styles of oratory. To employ the Plain Style is to use dialectic, or Scripture, of *Contra Cresconium*; or res, or Scripture, of *De Doctrina Christiana*. To employ the Middle or Grand Style, is to use the *modus quo*, or rhetoric, of both treatises. To speak copiose orateque (*Contra Cres.* I, 16), and etiam veraciter, is to be eloquent, to employ the Middle Style when the object is to please, and the Grand Style when the hearer is to be stirred and aroused to action: to discuss a subject subtiliter (*ibid.*, and *Brutus*, 23.89), arguteque and veraciter (*Contra Cres.* I, 16), is to use the Plain Style when the purpose is to teach, to define, or to refute an error, or to handle subjects involving technicalities, difficulties and obscurities. In short, explicare orateque copiose, and etiam veraciter, is to be eloquent, to be concerned with the *modus quo*; while subtiliter arguteque disserere, and autem presse atque constricta (*Contra Cres.* I, 20), as for instance, de circumcisione, vel distinctione legis et gratiae (*ibid.*), is to be a dialectician, a teacher, a debater rather than an eloquent man—one whose purpose it is to be a master of res.

The treatise, *Contra Cresconium*, thus affords us the key to the interpretation³ of the three-fold division of styles in the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana*. The Plain Style is dialectic, the Middle and the Grand Styles, rhetoric; the synthesis of the two elements goes back to the time when the rhetoricians began to recognize the necessity of more exact proof. It can be traced to Hermagoras, who is, perhaps, the author of the three-fold style, and Cicero, in *De Inventione*, II, 2.7 and 8, says: Atque alii quoque alio ex fonte praeceptores dicendi emanaverunt, qui item permultum ad dicendum, si quid ars proficit, opitulati sunt. Nam fuit tempore eodem, quo Aristoteles, magnus et nobilis rhetor Isocrates; cuius ipsius quam constet esse artem, non invenimus. Discipulorum autem atque eorum, qui protinus ab hac sunt disciplina profecti, multa de arte praecepta reperimus. Ex his duabus diversis sicuti familiis, quarum altera quum versaretur in philosophia, nonnullam rhetoricae quoque artis sibi curam adsumebat, altera vero omnis in dicendi erat studio et praeceptione occupata, unum quoddam est conflatum genus a posterioribus, qui ab utrisque ea, quae commode dici videbantur, in suas artes contulerunt.

³ See Hendrickson, *A. J. P.* Vol. XXVI, "Origin and Meaning of Characters of Style."

X. THE NORM OF AUGUSTINE; EXAMPLES FROM PAUL AND AMOS

As there is an eloquence adapted to youth, and an eloquence becoming to old age, so there is an eloquence peculiarly appropriate to the character of the ecclesiastical orator. It is of a type that is both unique and divine, since it deals with God, with man, with morals, and with the future state of the soul. It places him at once on the very highest plane, and imposes on him the most exalted obligations. Therefore, his speech and language should comport with the dignity of his theme and the sacredness of his office.

That Augustine chose both a high type of oratory for his norm, and one in strict accord with the proper conception of the character of the ecclesiastical orator, may be seen from an examination of the extracts, which he takes as examples of model eloquence, from the writings of the Apostle Paul, and the Prophet Amos. These are shown to possess both wisdom and eloquence, wisdom being the guide, and eloquence the attendant, neither displayed in a gaudy or conspicuous fashion, yet both harmoniously and artistically blended after the pattern of the finest art.

Following are the passages with analyses thereof.

A

THE APOSTLE REJOICES IN TRIBULATION

D. D. C. IV, 7. 11: *Gloriamus in tribulationibus, scientes quia tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem probationem, probatio vero spem, spes autem non confundit; quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.* (Rom. V, 3-5.) The following is the analysis as given by Augustine himself, together with other observations.

- a. *Gloriamus in tribulationibus,*
Main sentence of one membrum.
- b. *scientes quia tribulatio patientiam operatur,*
patientia autem probationem,
probatio vero spem,
A climax, or gradatio, of three membra.
- c. *spes autem non confundit;*
quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per
Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.

To sum up, there are in this short extract, (1) the climax; (2) a period; (3) six membra, or clauses, besides metaphor which is sustained through five of the six clauses. The style is *Temperata Dictio*.

B

PAUL'S DEFENSE, TO THE CORINTHIANS, OF HIS APOSTLESHIP,
IN THE FORM OF A BOAST

D. D. C. IV, 7. 12: Iterum dico, ne quis me existimet insipientem esse; alioquin velut insipientem suscipite me, ut et ego modicum quid glorier. Quod loquor, non loquor secundum Deum, sed quasi in stultitia, in hac substantia gloriae. Quoniam quidem multi gloriantur secundum carnem, et ego gloriabor. Libenter enim sustinetis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes. Toleratis enim si quis vos in servitutem redigit, si quis devorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollitur, si quis in faciem vos caedit. Secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmati simus. In quo autem quis audet (in insipientia dico), audeo et ego. Hebraei sunt? et ego. Israelitae sunt? et ego. Semen Abrahae sunt? et ego. Ministri Christi sunt? (insipiens dico) super ego. In laboribus plurimum, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus saepius. A Judaeis quinquies, quadraginta una minus accepi. Ter virgis caesus sum, semel lapidatus sum, ter naufragium feci: nocte et die in profundo maris fui; in itineribus saepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in civitate, periculis in deserto, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus: in labore et aerumna, in vigiliis saepius, in fame et siti, in ieiuniis saepius, in frigore et nuditate: praeter illa quae extrinsecus sunt, incursus in me quotidianus, sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum. Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? Si gloriari oportet, in iis quae infirmitatis meae sunt, gloriabor. (II Cor. XI, 16-30).

(1) *His Apology*

- a. His aversion to being considered a fool.
Interum dico,
ne quis me existimet insipientem esse;
A period of two membra.

- b. Sarcasm toward his enemies.
 alioquin velut
 insipientem suscipite me,
 ut ego modicum quid glorier.
 A period of three membra.
- c. Tenderness for his Master.
 Quod loquor,
 non loquor secundum Deum,
 sed quasi in stultitia,
 in hac substantia gloriae.
 A period of four membra.
- d. A thrust at his enemies.
 Quoniam quidem multi gloriantur
 secundum carnem,

becomes the most tense, preparatory to his final outburst in the last
 A period of two membra.

- e. Sarcasm against those who are "fools" and those who
 are "wise".
 Libenter enim sustinetis insipientes,
 cum sitis ipsi sapientes.
 A period of two membra.
- f. In the three following divisions Paul advances reasons
 why he should be heard.
 Toleratis enim
 si quis vos in servitutem redigit,
 si quis devorat,
 si quis accipit,
 si quis extollitur,
 si quis in faciem vos caedit.
 A period of two membra, three caesa, and one membrum.
- g. Secundum ignobilitatem dico,
 quasi nos infirmati simus.
 A period of two membra.
- h. In quo autem quis audet
 (in insipientia dico),
 audeo et ego.
 A period of three membra.

It will be observed that the above eight divisions consist of a
 series of eight periods: four consisting of two membra each, two of

three, one of four and one compounded of two membra, three caesa, and one membrum. Psychologically, the sixth, or f-division, contains the climax, since it is in the three caesa that the orator's feeling becomes the most tense, preparatory to his final outburst in the last membrum of the same division. The height of his oratorical curve having been reached, he begins to descend in the first membrum of the seventh, or g-division, by a return to the word *secundum*, since it is by means of this word in the c and d-divisions that he assumes personal responsibility for his attack against his detractors which is to be both thoroughly human and absolutely decisive.

(2) *The Boast Proper*

- a. Glorifying after the flesh. A climactic arrangement, since Hebraei is the national name, Israelitae the religious name, Semen Abrahae, "heirs of promise," and ministri Christi.

Hebraei sunt?

et ego.

Israelitae sunt?

et ego.

Semen Abrahae sunt?

et ego.

Ministri Christi sunt?

(insipiens dico)

super ego.

A period of nine caesa.

- b. Hitherto it has been a question of externals. Here Paul claims the right to be the chief apostle because of his sufferings. His elaboration of the "super ego" possesses the merit of the highest art.

1. In laboribus plurimum,

in carceribus abundantius,

in plagis supra modum,

in mortibus saepius.

A period of four caesa. Gradatio.

2. A Judaeis quinquies,

quadraginta una minus accepi.

A period of two membra.

3. Ter virgis caesus sum,
semel lapidatus sum,
ter naufragium feci:
nocte et die in profundo maris fui;
A period of four membra. Gradatio.

4. in itineribus saepe,
periculis fluminum,
periculis latronum,
periculis ex genere,
periculis ex gentibus,
periculis in civitate,
periculis in deserto,
periculis in mari,
periculis in falsis fratribus;
in labore et aerumna,
in vigiliis saepius,
in fame et siti,
in ieiuniis saepius,
in frigore et nuditate;
A period of fourteen caesa.

c. A graceful descent, pathetically portraying the Apostle's sufferings.

1. praeter illa quae extrinsecus sunt,
incursus in me quotidianus,
sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum.

A period of three membra. Gradatio.

2. Quis infirmatur,
et ego non infirmor?
quis scandalizatur,
et ego non uror?

A period of four membra.

3. Si gloriari oportet,
in iis quae infirmitatis meae sunt,
gloriabor.

A period of three membra. Conclusion.

In the above examples there are three periods consisting of nine, four, and fourteen caesa respectively; one period of two membra, two of three, and two of four. There are, also, four gradationes, two in the caesa, and two in the membra. Division b, 1, is conspicuous

for its poetic rhythm, and its use of the preposition ; d, 5, consisting of fourteen caesa, has eight beginning with *periculis*, and six, the first and last five, with the same preposition. The entire passage is one of great oratorical force, and belongs to *Grandis Dictio*.

C

AMOS ON THE WANTONNESS OF ISRAEL

Vae qui opulenti estis in Sion, et confiditis in monte Samariae, optimates capita populorum, ingredientes pompatice domum Israel! Transite in Chalanne, et videte, et ite inde in Emath magnam, et descendite in Geth Palaestinorum, et ad optima quaeque regna horum, si latior terminus eorum termino vestro est. Qui separati estis in diem malum, et appropinquatis solio iniquitatis. Qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lascivitis in stratis vestris: qui comeditis agnum de grege, et vitulos de medio armenti: qui canitis ad vocem Psalterii. Sicut David putaverunt se habere vasa cantici; bibentes in phialis vinum, et optimo unguento delibuti: et nihil patiebantur super contritione Joseph. (Amos VI, 1-6.) *D. D. C. IV, 7. 16.*

a. The invective.

Vae qui opulenti estis in Sion,
et confiditis in monte Samariae,
optimates capita populorum,
ingredientes pompatice domum Israel!
A period of four membra.

b. Against their ingratitude.

Transite in Chalanne,
et videte,
et ite inde in Emath magnam,
et descendite in Geth Palaestinorum,
et ad optima quaeque regna horum,
si latior terminus eorum termino vestro est.
A period of two caesa and four membra.

c. Announcement of future captivity.

Qui separati estis in diem malum,
et appropinquatis solio iniquitatis.
A period of two membra.

- d. On the evils of luxury.
 - 1. The lascivious couches.
Qui dormitis in lectis eburneis,
et lascivitis in stratis vestris:
 - 2. The luxurious tables.
qui comeditis agnum de grege,
et vitulos de medio armenti:
qui canitis ad vocem Psalterii.
A compound period of five membra.
- e. Admonishes to observe the difference between the music
of the wise and that of lasciviousness.
Sicut David putaverunt se habere vasa cantici;
bibentes in phialis vinum,
et optimo unguento delibuti:
A period of three membra.
- f. Of their hardness of heart.
et nihil patiebantur
super contritione Joseph.
A closing period of two membra.

As regards this passage, Augustine calls attention to the fact that it contains nothing that sober ears could wish changed and in addition, points out its prominent features. First, the invective hurled upon the benumbed senses of the drowsy listeners, and while chiding them on their ingratitude, the prophet adorns his utterances with the names of places as with torches. Simul etiam cum ista dicuntur, locorum nominibus tanquam luminibus ornatur eloquium, quae sunt Sion, Samaria, Chalanne, Emath magna, et Geth Palaestinorum. (*D. D. C. IV, 7. 17*).

The entire passage is adorned with metaphor and other figures of speech, as for instance; (a) confiditis in monte Samariae (person.), and domum Israel (meta.); (b) latior terminus (Synec.); (c) in diem malum (meta.), and solio iniquitatis (meta.); and (d, 1 and 2) while not strictly figurative, are quite as bold by virtue of their inherent richness of speech. As regards (e), it is full of grace, while of the last period Augustine says (*D. D. C. IV, 7. 20*): Miro decore non dictum est, nihil patiebantur super contritione fratris, sed positus est pro fratre, Joseph, ut quicumque frater proprio significaretur ejus nomine, cujus ex fratribus fama praeclara est, vel in malis quae pendit, vel in bonis quae rependit. The passage is also another example of Grandis Dictio.

XI. ILLUSTRATION OF THE PLAIN STYLE

Augustine selected four specimens as illustrations of the Plain Style in oratory, two of which are taken from the writings of the Apostle Paul, and one each from the writings of Cyprian and St. Ambrose. It being his conception that the province of the Plain Style is both to teach and to anticipate objections, he chose extracts which conform thoroughly to this conception.

In these no ornamentation of diction is to be found but on the contrary, the language is devoid of all rhetorical coloring, and confines itself entirely to the development of the thought which is both obscure and technical.

A

PAUL ON THE LAW OF MOSES

D. D. C. IV, 20. 39: Dicite mihi, sub Lege volentes esse, Legem non audistis? Scriptum est enim, quod Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla, et unum de libera; sed ille qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est; qui autem de libera, per repromissionem: quae sunt in allegoria. Haec enim sunt duo Testamenta: unum quidem e monte Sina in servitutem generans, quae est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui conjunctus est huic quae nunc est Jerusalem, et servit cum filiis suis. Quae autem sursum est Jerusalem, libera est, quae est mater nostra. (Gal. IV, 21-26).

Analysis of the above in accordance with the Norm of Augustine

- a. Address to the Galatians; question regarding the law of Moses.
Dicite mihi,
sub Lege volentes esse,
Legem non audistis?
A period of three membra.
- b. Ishmael and Isaac; beginning of the allegory.
Scriptum est enim,
quod Abraham duos filios habuit,
unum de ancilla,
et unum de libera;
A period of two membra and two caesa.

- c. The allegory completed; contrast between bondage and freedom.

sed ille qui de ancilla,
secundum carnem natus est;
qui autem de libera,
per repromissionem:
quae sunt in allegoria.

A period of two membra, two caesa and a membrum.

- d. Explanation of the allegory.

Haec enim sunt duo Testamenta:
unum quidem e monte Sina in servitutem generans,
quae est Agar.

A period of three membra.

- e. Comparison between Sinai and Jerusalem.

Sina enim mons est in Arabia,
qui coniunctus est huic
quae nunc est Jerusalem,
et servit cum filiis suis.

A period of four membra.

- f. Jerusalem alone is free.

Quae autem sursum est Jerusalem,
liberata est,
quae est mater nostra.

A period of one membrum, a caesum and a membrum.

"In the above extract, Paul proceeds to address his readers in a style which we find nowhere else in his Epistles. He will tell—a story! Perhaps he may succeed better than by graver argument. Their (the Galatians') quick fancy will readily apprehend the bearing of the illustration; it may bring home to them the force of his doctrinal contention, and the peril of their own position, as he fears they have not seen them yet. And so, after the pathetic appeal of the last paragraph, and before he delivers his decisive, official protest to the Galatians against their circumcision, he injects this allegory of the two sons of Abraham." (Findlay: *An Exposition of the Bible*, Vol. V, p. 882).

B

PAUL ON THE COVENANT OF PROMISE MADE TO ABRAHAM

D. D. C. IV, 20. 39: Fratres, secundum hominem dico, tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo irritum facit, aut superior-

dinat. Abrahæ dictæ sunt promissiones et semini eius. Non dicit, et seminibus, tanquam in multis, sed tanquam in uno, et semini tuo, quod est Christus. Hoc autem dico, testamentum confirmatum a Deo, quæ post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est Lex, non infirmat ad evacuandas promissiones. Si enim ex Lege hæreditas, iam non ex promissione. Abrahæ autem per repromissionem donavit Deus. Quid ergo Lex? Transgressionis gratia proposita est, donec veniret semen cui promissum est, disposita per Angelos in manu mediatoris. Mediator autem unius non est, Deus vero unus est. Lex ergo adversus promissa Dei? Absit. Si enim data esset Lex quæ posset vivificare, omnino ex Lege esset iustitia. Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus. (Gal. III, 15-22).

Analysis of the above in accordance with the Norm of Augustine

- a. A will, or testament made by man, when properly attested, cannot be abrogated.
Fratres, secundum hominem dico,
tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum
nemo irritum facit,
aut superordinat.
A section of four membra.
- b. Jehova's covenant with Abraham and his seed.
Abrahæ dictæ sunt promissiones et semini eius.
Non dicit,
et seminibus,
tanquam in multis,
sed tanquam in uno,
et semini tuo,
quod est Christus.
A period of one membrum and six caesa.
- c. A testament ratified of God 430 years previously,
the law of Moses cannot annul.
Hoc autem dico,
testamentum confirmatum a Deo,
quæ post quadringentos et triginta annos
facta est Lex,
non infirmat ad evacuandas promissiones.
A period of four membra.
- d. Inheritance by promise.

Si enim ex Lege haereditas,
iam non ex promissione.
Abraham autem per repromissionem donavit Deus.
A period of three membra.

- e. Purpose of the law.

Quid ergo Lex?
Transgressionis gratia proposita est,
donec veniret semen cui promissum est,
disposita per Angelos in manu mediatoris.
Mediator autem unius non est,
Deus vero unus est.
A period of six membra.

- f. The law does not conflict with promise.

Lex ergo adversus promissa Dei?
Absit.
A period of one membrum and one caesum.

- g. A reason for the last statement.

Si enim data esset Lex
quae posset vivificare,
omnino ex Lege esset iustitia.
Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccato,
ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus.
A period of five membra.

"This part of the Epistle is in fact a piece of inspired historical criticism; it is a magnificent reconstruction of the course of sacred history. It is Paul's theory of a doctrinal development, condensing into a few pregnant sentences the rationale of Judaism, explaining God's dealings with mankind from Adam to Christ, and fitting the legal system into its place in this order with an exactness and consistency that supply an effectual verification of the hypothesis." (Findlay: *An Exposition of the Bible*, Vol. V, p. 861).

To conclude: it is clear that the Apostle had only in mind to establish the superiority of the covenant made to Abraham over the law of Moses; that in order to do this he lays down a fundamental principle, that of the sacredness of man's will when properly attested; that God made a covenant with Abraham before the time of Moses, and that He swore to it; that therefore even as man's will and testament is not to be set aside, even so much the more is

the covenant of God to stand unimpeached over against the law of Moses. There is, moreover, no ornamentation of diction, but on the other hand, plain and unadorned speech. This passage, therefore, is justly referred to as a specimen of the *Submissa Dictio*.

C

CYPRIAN ON THE SACRAMENT OF THE CUP

D. D. C. IV, 21. 45: Admonitos autem nos scias, ut in calice offerendo dominica traditio servetur, neque aliud fiat a nobis, quam quod pro nobis Dominus prior fecit, ut calix qui in commemorationem eius offertur, vino mixtus offeratur. Nam cum dicat Christus, "Ego sum vitis vera," (Joan. XV, 5); sanguis Christi, non aqua est utique, sed vinum; nec potest videri sanguis eius, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quando vinum desit calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur; qui Scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio praedicatur. Invenimus enim in Genesi circa sacramentum Noe hoc idem praecucurrisse, et figuram dominicae passionis illic exstitisse, quod vinum bibit, quod inebriatus est, quod in domo sua nudatus est, quod fuit recubans nudis et patentibus femoribus; quod nuditas illa patris a medio filio denotata est; a maiore vero et minore contacta (Gen. IX, 20-25), et cetera quae necesse non est exsequi, cum satis sit hoc solum complecti, quod Noe typum futurae veritatis ostendens, non aquam sed vinum biberit; et sic imaginem dominicae passionis expresserit. Item in sacerdote Melchisedech dominicum sacramentum praefiguratum videmus, secundum quod Scriptura divina testatur, et dicit: "Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et vinum. Fuit autem sacerdos Dei summi, et benedixit Abraham." (Id. XIX, 18). Quod autem Melchisedech typum Christi portaret, declarat in Psalmis Spiritus sanctus, ex persona Patris ad Filium dicens: "Ante Luciferum genui te. Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech." (Ps. CIX, 4).

Analysis of the above in accordance with the Norm of Augustine

- a. Admonitos autem nos scias,
 ut in calice offerendo dominica traditio servetur,
 neque aliud fiat a nobis,
 quam quod pro nobis Dominus prior fecit,
 ut calix, qui in commemorationem eius offertur,

vino mixtus offeratur.

A period of six membra.

- b. "I am the true vine." John XV, 1.

Nam cum dicat Christus,

"Ego sum vitis vera";

sanguis Christi, non aqua est utique, sed vinum;

nec potest videri sanguis eius,

quo redempti et vivificati sumus,

esse in calice,

quando vinum desit calici,

quo Christi sanguis ostenditur;

qui Scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio
praedicatur.

A period of nine membra.

- c. The Master's sufferings typified in the case of Noah.

Invenimus enim in Genesi circa sacramentum

Noe hoc idem praecucurrisse,

et figuram dominicae passionis illic exstitisse,

quod vinum bibit,

quod inebriatus est,

quod in domo sua nudatus est,

quod fuit recubans nudis et patentibus femoribus;

quod nuditas illa patris a medio filio denotata est;

a maiore vero et minore contexta.

A period of nine membra.

- d. The Master's passion represented by wine.

Et cetera quae necesse non est exsequi,

cum satis sit hoc solum complecti,

quod Noe typum futurae veritatis ostendens,

non aquam sed vinum biberit;

et sic imaginem dominicae passionis expresserit.

A period of five membra.

- e. The Priest Melchizedek.

Item in sacerdote Melchisedech

dominicum sacramentum praefiguratum videmus,

secundum quod Scriptura divina testatur et dicit:

"Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et vinum.

Fuit autem sacerdos Dei summi,

et benedixit Abraham.”

A period of six membra.

- f. Melchizedek a type of Christ.

Quod autem Melchisedech typum Christi portaret,
declarat in Psalmis Spiritus sanctus,
ex persona Patris ad Filium dicens :

“Ante Luciferum genui te.

Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem
Melchisedech.”

A period of five membra.

D

ST. AMBROSE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT

D. D. C. IV, 21. 46: Commotus oraculo Gedeon, cum audisset quod deficientibus licet populorum millibus, in uno viro Dominus plebem suam ab hostibus liberaret, obtulit haedum caprarum, cuius carnem secundum praeceptum angeli, et azyma supra petram posuit, et eo jure perfudit: quae simul ut virgae cacumine, quam gerebat, angelus Dei contigit, de petra ignis erupit, atque ita sacrificium quod offerebatur absumptum est. (Jud. IV, 11-21). Quo indicio declaratum videtur, quod petra illa typum habuerit corporis Christi; quia scriptum est, “bibebant de consequenti petra, petra autem erat Christus.” (I Cor. X, 4.) Quod utique non ad divinitatem ejus, sed ad carnem relatum est, quae sitientium corda populorum perenni rivo sui sanguinis inundavit. Iam tunc igitur in mysterio declaratum est, quia Dominus Jesus in carne sua, totius mundi peccata crucifixus aboleret, nec solum delicta factorum, sed etiam cupiditates animorum. Caro enim haedi ad culpam facti refertur; jus ad illecebras cupiditatum, sicut scriptum est, “quia concupivit populus cupiditatem pessimam, et dixerunt, quis nos cibabit carne?” (Num. XI, 4). Quod igitur extendit angelus virgam, et tetigit petram, de qua ignis exiit, ostendit quod caro Domini Spiritu repleta divino, peccata omnia humanae conditionis exureret. Unde et Dominus ait, “ignem veni mittere in terram.” (Luc. XII, 49).

Analysis of the above in accordance with the Norm of Augustine

- a. The sacrifice of Gideon.

Commotus oraculo Gedeon,
cum audisset quod deficientibus licet populorum millibus,
in uno viro Dominus plebem suam ab hostibus liberaret,

obtulit haedum caprarum,
 cuius carnem secundum praeceptum angeli,
 et azyma supra petram posuit,
 et eo iure perfudit:
 quae simul ut virgae cacumine, quam gerebat,
 angelus Dei contigit,
 de petra ignis erupit,
 atque ita sacrificium quod offerebatur
 absumptum est.

A period of twelve membra.

- b. The rock a type of Christ.
 Quo indicio declaratum videtur,
 quod petra illa typum habuerit corporis Christi;
 quia scriptum est,
 "bibebant de consequenti petra,
 petra autem erat Christus."
 Quod utique non ad divinitatem eius,
 sed ad carnem relatum est,
 quae sitientium corda populorum perenni rivo
 sui sanguinis inundavit.

A period of nine membra.

- c. The abolishing of the sins of the world.
 Iam tunc igitur in mysterio declaratum est,
 quia Dominus Jesus in carne sua,
 totius mundi peccata crucifixus aboleret,
 nec solum delicta factorum,
 sed etiam cupiditates animorum.

A period of five membra.

- d. Interpretation of the preceding division.
 Caro enim haedi ad culpam facti refertur;
 ius ad illecebras cupiditatum,
 sicut scriptum est,
 "quia concupivit populus cupiditatem pessimam,
 et dixerunt,
 quis non cibabit carne?"

A period of six membra.

- e. The flesh of the Master will destroy sin.
 Quod igitur extendit angelus virgam,

et tetigit petram,
de qua ignis exiit,
ostendit quod caro Domini Spiritu repleta divino,
peccata omnia humanae conditionis exureret.

A period of five membra.

f. Conclusion.

Unde et Dominus ait,
“ignem veni mittere in terram.”

A period of two membra.

The above passages from Cyprian and St. Ambrose maintain the same characteristics of rhetoric as those found in the writings of the Apostle Paul.

They are didactic throughout, and set forth, the one treating of the Sacrament, the other of the equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and with the Son, cardinal principles in a terse and vigorous way. They are admirably adapted to teaching, and conform in all respects to the *Submissa Dictio*.

XII. ILLUSTRATION OF THE MIDDLE STYLE

D. D. C. IV, 20. 40: Habentes dona diversa secundum gratiam quae data est nobis; sive prophetiam, secundum regulam fidei; sive ministerium, in ministrando; sive qui docet, in doctrina; sive qui exhortatur, in exhortatione; qui tribuit, in simplicitate; qui praeest, in sollicitudine; qui miseretur, in hilaritate. Dilectio sine simulatione; odio habentes malum, adhaerentes bono: charitate fraternitatis invicem diligentes, honore mutuo praevenientes, studio non pigri, spiritu ferventes, Domino servientes, spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes, orationi instantes, necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes, hospitalitatem sectantes. Benedicite persequentibus vos; benedicite, et nolite maledicere. Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus: id ipsum invicem sentientes. Non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes! (Rom. XII, 6-16).

Analysis of the above in accordance with the Norm of Augustine

- a. Habentes dona diversa
secundum gratiam
quae data est nobis;
Introductory caesa.
- b. sive prophetiam
secundum regulam fidei;
sive ministerium,
in ministrando;
sive qui docet,
in doctrina;
sive qui exhortatur,
in exhortatione;
qui tribuit,
in simplicitate;
qui praeest,
in sollicitudine;
qui miseretur,
in hilaritate.
Seven pairs of balanced caesa.
- c. Dilectio sine simulatione;
odio habentes malum,
adhaerentes bono:

charitate fraternitatis invicem diligentes,
 honore mutuo praevenientes,
 studio non pigri,
 spiritu ferventes,
 Domino servientes,
 spe gaudentes,
 in tribulatione patientes,
 orationi instantes,
 necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes,
 hospitalitatem sectantes.

A period of six caesa and seven membra interlocked.

- d. Benedicite persequentibus vos ;
 benedicite, et nolite maledicere.
 Gaudere cum gaudentibus,
 flere cum flentibus :
 idipsum invicem sentientes.

A period of two pairs of balanced membra, closed by
 a single membrum.

- e. Non alta sapientes,
 sed humilibus consentientes !

A closing period of two balanced membra.

It would be difficult to find, in sacred literature, a specimen of oratory illustrating more perfectly the Temperate Style than the above extract from the Epistle to the Romans. A very high degree of art is employed in a very delicate and inconspicuous fashion. The passage is worthy of a great religious teacher, and unquestionably has the right to stand as a model of sacred eloquence.

XIII. ILLUSTRATION OF THE GRAND STYLE

D. D. C. IV, 20. 42: Ecce, nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis. Nullam in quoquam dantes offensionem, ut non reprehendatur ministerium nostrum: sed in omnibus commendantes nosmetipsos ut Dei ministros, in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus, in seditionibus, in laboribus, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in benignitate, in Spiritu sancto, in charitate non ficta, in verbo veritatis, in virtute Dei: per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam; ut seductores, et veraces; ut qui ignoramur, et cognoscimur; quasi morientes, et ecce vivimus: coerciti, et non mortificati; ut tristes, semper autem gaudentes; sicut egeni, multos autem ditantes; tanquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes. Os nostrum patet ad vos, o Corinthii: cor nostrum dilatatum est. (IICor. VI, 2-11).

Analysis of the above in accordance with the Norm of Augustine

- a. Ecce, nunc tempus acceptabile,
ecce nunc dies salutis.
Nullam in quoquam dantes offensionem,
ut non reprehendatur ministerium nostrum:
sed in omnibus commendantes nosmetipsos ut Dei ministros,
Introduction, of five membra, to a vigorous oratorical outburst.
- b. in multa patientia,
in tribulationibus,
in necessitatibus,
in angustiis,
in plagis,
in carceribus,
in seditionibus,
in laboribus,
in vigiliis,
in ieiuniis,
in castitate,
in scientia,
in longanimitate,
in benignitate,
in Spiritu sancto,

in charitate non ficta,
in verbo veritatis,
in virtute Dei:

A group of eighteen caesa, beginning with the same preposition, in which vehement emotion is given full sway.

- c. per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris,
per gloriam et ignobilitatem,
per infamiam et bonam famam;

A group of three membra, midway between vigorous caesa, in which strong emotion is, for the moment, checked.

- d. ut seductores,
et veraces;
ut qui ignoramur,
et cognoscimur;
quasi morientes,
et ecce vivimus:
coerciti,
et non mortificati;
ut tristes,
semper autem gaudentes;
sicut egeni,
multos autem ditantes;
tanquam nihil habentes,
et omnia possidentes.

A group of fourteen caesa, in which the emotion is less tense than in the eighteen above.

- e. Os nostrum patet ad vos, o Corinthii:
cor nostrum dilatatum est.

A group of two membra which Augustine characterizes as "ardens".

"The majestic style of speech differs from the Temperate Style , chiefly in that it is not so much decked out with verbal ornaments as exalted into vehemence by mental emotion. It uses, indeed, nearly all the ornaments that the other does; but if they do not happen to be at hand it does not seek for them. For it is borne on by its own vehemence; and the force of the thought, not the desire for ornament, makes it seize upon any beauty of expression that comes in its way." (*D. D. C. IV*, 20. 42).

XIV. FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AUGUSTINE AND CICERO

(1)

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORATOR IS CONSTANTLY DEALING WITH GREAT
THEMES; THE LEGAL ORATOR IS NOT

The three fundamental principles of the great Roman orator in fashioning an eloquent man are briefly and succinctly stated in *Orator*, 29. 101: *Is igitur erit eloquens, qui poterit parva summis, modica temperate, magna granditer dicere.* Augustine points out that Cicero could have exemplified these three principles so far as legal questions are concerned, but could not as regards ecclesiastical matters. Questions of a pecuniary nature are small, those pertaining to life and liberty, great. Cases which have nothing to do with either of these, but are intended merely to give pleasure, occupy a place midway, as it were, between the two, and therefore may be called middling or moderate. On the other hand the ecclesiastical orator, from his exalted position of authority, addresses the people regarding their salvation, temporal as well as eternal, and therefore what he says on all matters, even the pecuniary, ought not to seem unimportant, for justice is never unimportant. *Haec autem tria ille, sicut ab eo dicta sunt, in causis forensibus posset ostendere; non autem hic, hoc est in ecclesiasticis quaestionibus, in quibus huiusmodi, quem volumus informare, sermo versatur.* In illis enim ea parva dicuntur, ubi de rebus pecuniariis iudicandum est; ea magna, ubi de salute ac de capite hominum: ea vero ubi nihil horum iudicandum est, nihilque agitur ut agat sive decernat, sed tantummodo ut delectetur auditor, inter utrumque quasi media, et ob hoc modica, hoc est moderata dixerunt. Modicis enim modus nomen imposuit: nam modica pro parvis abusive, non proprie dicimus. In istis autem nostris, quandoquidem omnia, maxime quae de loco superiore populis dicimus, ad hominum salutem, nec temporariam, sed aeternam referre debemus, ubi etiam cavendus est aeternus interitus, omnia magna sunt quae dicimus; usque adeo ut nec de ipsis pecuniariis rebus vel acquirendis vel amittendis parva videri debeant, quae doctor ecclesiasticus dicit, sive sit illa magna, sive parva pecunia. Neque enim parva est iustitia, quam profecto et in parva

pecunia custodire debemus, dicente Domino; "qui in minimo fidelis est, et in magno fidelis est." (*D. D. C. IV*, 18. 35).

The orator of Augustine, then, in treating of matters such as the above, or of one brother going to law with another, *D. D. C. IV*, 18. 36, or of the statement of Jesus relative to the giving of a cup of cold water in His name, *ibid.*, 37, should never consider his subject unimportant, but should discuss it with a tongue of fire. This the orator of Cicero could never do.

(2)

THERE IS A QUALITY IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORATOR WHICH THE ORATOR OF CICERO DOES NOT POSSESS

Augustine lays special emphasis upon the fact that it is not the qualities which the ecclesiastical orator has in common with the pagan orator, that give him delight, but the possession of an eloquence combined with wisdom all his own. He uses the eloquence of Cicero's model in such a way that it is conspicuous neither for its presence nor its absence. In cases where it is in conspicuous evidence, the matters spoken of are of such a character that it bursts forth spontaneously, as if wisdom were walking out of her house, and eloquence, her faithful attendant, following. *Sed non ipsa me plus quam dici potest in illa eloquentia delectant, quae sunt his viris cum oratoribus Gentilium poetisve communia: illud magis admiror et stupeo, quod ista nostra eloquentia ita usi sunt per alteram quandam eloquentiam suam, ut nec deesset eis, nec emineret in eis: quia eam nec improbari ab illis, nec ostentari oportebat: quorum alterum fieret, si vitaretur, alterum putari posset, si facile agnosceretur. Et in quibus forte locis agnoscitur a doctis, tales res dicuntur, ut verba quibus dicuntur, non a dicente adhibita, sed ipsis rebus velut sponte subiuncta videantur; quasi sapientiam de domo sua, id est, pectore sapientis procedere intelligas, et tanquam inseparabilem famulam etiam non vocatam sequi eloquentiam.* (*D. D. C. IV*, 6. 10).

(3)

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORATOR SHOULD EMPLOY THE TEMPERATE STYLE, AS WELL AS THE GRAND STYLE, IN MOVING MEN TO ACTION

With Cicero, the object of the Temperate Style is to please by beauty of expression. Herein Augustine takes a step far in advance

of Cicero, in that he states emphatically that this is not an adequate end.

When what the ecclesiastical orator has to say is good and useful, when his hearers are acquainted with it and favorably disposed towards it, so that they do not need to be instructed or conciliated, beauty of style may be serviceable in securing a more prompt compliance on their part. The function of all eloquence, whatever its form, being to speak persuasively and its object to persuade, an eloquent man will speak persuasively, whatever style he may adopt, but unless he succeeds in persuading, his eloquence has failed of its object. In the Plain Style, he persuades his hearers that what he says is true; in the Grand Style he persuades them to do what they know they should do; in the Temperate Style he persuades them that his speech is both eloquent and beautiful. But of what use is this last to the ecclesiastical orator? By the use of this Style he may persuade men to give up bad habits, or to cultivate good ones, if they be not so obstinate as to need the Grand Style. The orator of Augustine, then, should use the Middle Style to move men to action. *Illud vero quod agitur genere temperato, id est, ut eloquentia ipsa delectet, non est propter seipsum usurpandum; sed ut rebus quae utiliter honesteque dicuntur, si nec docente indigent eloquio nec movente, quia et scientes et faventes auditores habent, aliquanto promptius ex delectatione ipsa elocutionis, accedat vel tenacius adherescat assensus. Nam cum eloquentiae sit universale officium, in quocumque istorum trium generum, dicere apte ad persuasionem; finis autem, id quod intenderis, persuadere dicendo: in quocumque istorum trium generum dicit quidem eloquens apte ad persuasionem, sed nisi persuadeat, ad finem non pervenit eloquentiae. Persuadet autem in submisso genere vera esse quae dicit; persuadet in grandi, ut agantur quae agenda esse iam sciuntur, nec aguntur; persuadet in genere temperato, pulchre ornateque se dicere: quo fine nobis quid opus est? Appetant eum qui lingua gloriantur, et se in panegyricis talibusque dictionibus iactant, ubi nec docendus, nec ad aliquid agendum movendus, sed tantummodo est delectandus auditor. Nos vero istum finem referamus ad alterum finem, ut scilicet quod efficere volumus, cum granditer dicimus, hoc etiam isto velimus, id est, ut bona morum diligentur, vel devitentur mala; si ab hac actione non sic alieni sunt homines, ut ad eam grandi genere dictionis*

urgendi videantur: aut, si iam id agunt, ut agant studiosius, atque in eo firmiter perseverent. Ita fit ut etiam temperati generis ornatu, non iactanter, sed prudenter utamur: non eius fine contenti, quo tantummodo delectatur auditor; sed hoc potius agentes, ut etiam ipso ad bonum quod persuadere volumus, adiuvetur. (*D. D. C. IV, 25. 55*).

(4)

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORATOR SHOULD PRAY BEFORE SPEAKING

Though the ecclesiastical orator do all he can to be heard with intelligence, with pleasure, and with obedience, if he succeed, his success will be due more to piety in prayer than to the gifts of oratory. He should pray both for himself and for those whom he is about to address. When the time comes for him to speak he should lift up his thirsty soul to God and drink in that which he is soon to pour forth. The subjects on which he may speak are many, and many are the ways of speaking on them, but it is God who knows the hearts of all, and how to attune both speaker and hearers. Agit itaque noster iste eloquens, cum et iusta et sancta et bona dicit, neque enim alia debet dicere; agit ergo quantum potest cum ista dicit, ut intelligenter, ut libenter, ut obedienter audiatur: et haec se posse, si potuerit, et in quantum potuerit, pietate magis orationum, quam oratorum facultate non dubitet; ut orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator antequam dictor. Ipsa hora iam ut dicat accedens, priusquam exserat proferentem linguam, ad Deum levet animam sitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat. Cum enim de unaquaque re, quae secundum fidem dilectionemque tractanda sunt, multa sint quae dicantur, et multi modi quibus dicantur ab eis qui haec sciunt; qui novit quid ad praesens tempus, vel nobis dicere, vel per nos expediat audiri, nisi qui corda omnium videt? et quis facit ut quod oportet, et quemadmodum oportet, dicatur a nobis, nisi in cuius manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri? (*Sap. VII, 16*). Ac per hoc, discat quidem omnia quae docenda sunt, qui et nosse vult et docere: facultatemque dicendi, ut decet virum ecclesiasticum, comparet: ad horam vero ipsius dictionis, illud potius bonae menti cogitet convenire quod Dominus ait, "Nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini: non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis". (*Matt. X, 19 and 20*).

Si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus Sanctus, qui persequentibus traduntur pro Christo, cur non et in eis qui tradunt discentibus Christum? (*D. D. C. IV*, 15. 32).

(5)

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORATOR MAY DELIVER THAT WHICH HAS BEEN
WRITTEN BY ONE MORE ELOQUENT THAN HIMSELF

Finally Augustine advances the doctrine that a man who has a good delivery, but who is unable to compose anything worth delivering, may avail himself of that which has been written, with wisdom and eloquence, by another. He may commit it to memory and deliver it to the people without being charged with practicing deception. In this way many become proclaimers of the truth and yet not many teachers, for in the last analysis, the ecclesiastical orator delivers that which the Great Teacher has composed. Sunt sane quidam qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient, excogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriaeque commendent, atque ad populum proferant; si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. Sic enim, quod profecto utile est, multi praedicatores veritatis fiunt, nec multi magistri, si unius veri magistri idipsum dicant omnes, et non sint in eis schismata. (*D. D. C. IV*, 29. 62).

XV. SUMMARY

This comparative study of the rhetorical writings of Augustine with those of Cicero, leads me to conclude that Augustine modeled his ideal ecclesiastical orator after the pattern of Cicero's ideal orator; that with Cicero, the ideal orator was concerned in suits and cases of many and various kinds, while the orator of Augustine deals with the morals and the souls of men and women, and discusses such lofty themes as God, the Trinity, and Immortality.

As regards the moral character of the orator of Augustine, his conception is the same as that of Cicero, with the exception that the ecclesiastical orator may not be without serious blemish and defect of character, and yet may be a powerful orator, and that this exception is more apparent than real, inasmuch as it is the message of the ecclesiastical orator that makes the exception.

As to the duty of the ecclesiastical orator, we may conclude that this is to be found in the sketch which Augustine drew, in bold relief, of the ecclesiastical orator fashioned after the ideals of the elaborate and finished treatment of Cicero's ideal orator.

Also as regards the training of the ecclesiastical orator, as Cicero would make the study of rhetoric an indispensable prerequisite in the qualification of his orator, so would Augustine employ it in the training of his orator in order that he may defend truth and oppose error the more effectively, and that he may put his hearers in the proper frame of mind, by neatness and elegance of speech, and instruct, delight and move them as occasion may demand, and that he may be as effective in the defense of truth as his opponents are in the propagation of error.

Furthermore, as to the time to begin the training of the orator, and the manner of the same, Augustine would have him begin in early youth, and master the rules quickly, or else they can never be mastered at all; but that on the other hand, men whose earlier rhetorical education has been defective, but who are quick intellectually, may become eloquent more readily by reading the speeches, and listening to the orations of eloquent men, than by attention to the rules of eloquence; and that these conceptions are taken from Cicero.

As regards the possession of wisdom, the ecclesiastical orator should speak with wisdom, even though it be without eloquence, especially when his hearers are pleased with his eloquence, and think that since he speaks fluently, he must also be wise; that this idea, while an evident one, is specifically set forth by Cicero.

Again, as to the kind of wisdom necessary for the ecclesiastical orator in order that he may speak with wisdom even though it be without eloquence, he should possess an exact knowledge of the words of Scripture, as well as a deep insight into their spiritual meaning, to the end that he may the more surely enrich his speech, which may otherwise be poor, and that he may the more certainly influence his hearers as he may see fit; that corresponding to this notion is that conception of Cicero, by which philosophy takes the place of Scripture, and in place of the exact words and passages of Scripture, would substitute certain "topica" which fall under the domain of philosophy; that as Augustine would have his orator grounded in Scripture and rhetoric, so would Cicero have his equipped correspondingly in philosophy and rhetoric.

Also that he would have his orator read eloquent speeches, and listen to eloquent men; that he, like Cicero, would have his orator practice himself in the art of writing; that, as with Cicero, so would he have his orator choose an ideal model to imitate.

Furthermore, that the offices of the ecclesiastical orator are derived from Cicero; that Cicero's orator, while dealing with the many phases of legal and civic questions, has for his object the same thing as that of the ecclesiastical orator, that is, to teach, to delight, and to move, and that these functions are thoroughly natural and psychological, and deal respectively, with the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will of the hearer.

Again, that from the three-fold function of the orator, that of teaching, delighting and persuading, there are naturally developed three styles of oratory psychologically adapted to these offices, and which may be called the Plain, the Middle, and the Grand Styles, whose technical nomenclature, in the original, is derived directly from Cicero; that from the adverbs, *submisce*, *temperate*, and *granditer*, *Orator*, 29. 101, Augustine derived the names of his three styles of oratory, that is, *Submissa dictio*, *Temperata dictio*, and *Grandis dictio*. Further, that as with Cicero, so with Augustine, the Plain Style is intended for use in instruction, in explanation, and

in clearing up difficult matters containing technicalities and obscurities; and that the term, Plain Style, refers exclusively to the diction or phraseology, and not to the thought, which may be exceedingly terse and complicated; that as Cicero used this style in difficult cases pertaining to matters of law, so does Augustine parallel Cicero by showing the fitness of the Plain Style in dealing with like subjects, such as the Mosaic Law, for instance; that the function of the Middle Style is to please by beauty of diction and ornamentation of style; to conciliate, and to put the hearers in a friendly, attentive, and teachable frame of mind, so that they may be the more easily influenced by the orator in any way he may see fit to direct; that this conception is taken entirely from Cicero as shown most clearly from the Orator; that the object of the Grand Style is to move men to action by the power and vehemence of speech; that it consists of a vehement and powerful character, and that this vehemence is, in the main, one of thought and mental emotion vigorously compressed within strong and commanding language; that wherever need may be, it is the province of this style to break through the most stubborn and obdurate natures and compel them to do the bidding of the orator; and that this conception also is taken wholly from Cicero as abundantly set forth in his oratorical theory.

Again, if the orator would not grow tiresome and tedious to his hearers, he must alternate the employment of these styles, now using the one, and now the other, and that in doing so, the utmost skill and caution should be exercised in order that he may best advance the interest of the undertaking he may have at hand, and that, furthermore, this conception is also taken wholly from Cicero.

Also, that, as regards the interpretation of these divisions of style, the first and logical division that Augustine made of the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana*, was a two-fold one, that of philosophy, or Scripture and rhetoric; that this division is in all essential respects the same as that made in *Contra Cresconium*; that the two-fold division into philosophy, or Scripture, and rhetoric, is a recognition of the respective claims of philosophy and rhetoric, as was also recognized by Cicero; that as Cicero finally made a three-fold division of style, as seen in the *Brutus*, so does Augustine also follow him in this respect.

Again, that as regards the character of the eloquence of Augustine's orator, since there is an eloquence suitable to youth, and one

adapted to old age, so there is an eloquence peculiarly appropriate to the ecclesiastical orator; and that in the norm of Augustine's sacred oratory, as represented by the best specimens from Paul, Amos, Cyprian, and Ambrose, he chose as his voice unit, or units, of oratorical rhythm, the caesa, the membra, and the period; that these divisions are, within certain limits, arbitrary, it being oftentimes difficult to distinguish between caesa and membra, since both are statements finished in a single tone of voice, and these units taken together in accordance with the oratorical thought or movement which they comprehend, form what may be called a group, a division, or a period; and that in each style, the Plain, the Middle, and the Grand, these caesa and membra are vital constituents, and are therefore capable of analysis; that however arbitrary the process may appear, membra being cut up now into caesa, and caesa now being prolonged into membra, there are nevertheless, an oratorical, a rhythmical, and a thought structure in each group, division, or period, which are easily discernible.

Finally, as regards the fundamental differences between Cicero and Augustine, it is clear that the ecclesiastical orator differs from the ideal orator of Cicero, in that he is always dealing with great themes which pertain to the welfare of humanity both here and hereafter, such as love, mercy, justice and the like, whereas the ideal orator is confined to themes which, from their very character, cannot attain to such dignity, such as debt, citizenship, personal rights and the like; that there is a quality, *sui generis*, belonging to the ecclesiastical orator, which Cicero's ideal orator can never possess, the felicitous union of Christian wisdom as guide, with eloquence as a faithful attendant; that the ecclesiastical orator should pray to God for wisdom, eloquence, and guidance, and that speaker and hearers be put in the proper frame of heart and mind, a thought entirely Christian; that whereas Cicero would use the Middle Style to please by the elegance and beauty of its diction, Augustine would employ it for the nobler purpose of persuading men and women to live more worthy and useful lives; that the ecclesiastical orator may deliver with great effect, what has been written with wisdom and eloquence by another, without being considered as having practiced deception upon those who hear.

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